piece pendent. Silver armlet above right elbow. Four copper armlets above left elbow. Four silver and seven composition bangles on left forearm. Two silver rings on right ring-finger; two steel rings on left ring-finger.

2. Tattooed on forehead; quadruple row of dots over right deltoid; star on right forearm.

3. Tattooed like the preceding on forehead and upper arm. Spot on chin; elaborate device on right forearm; rayed star or sun on back of hand.

4. Tattooed like the preceding on forehead and arm. Triple row of dots on back and front of left wrist, and double row of dots, with circle surrounded by dots, across chest.

Toreya women are only allowed to wear bangles on the wrist.

The tattoo marks on the foreheads of Udayar women consist of a crescent and dot, and they have a straight line tattooed at the outer corners of the eyes. Women of the other sub-divisions have on the forehead two circles with two vertical dashes between them, and a horizontal or crescentic dash below. The circles are made by pricking in the pigment over an impression made with a finger ring, or over a black mark made by means of such a ring. The operation is performed either by a Badaga or Korava woman. The former uses as needles the spines of *Carissa spinarum*, and a mixture of finely powdered charcoal or lamp-black mixed with rice gruel The marks on the forehead are made when a girl is about eight or nine years old, and do not, as stated by Mr. Natesa Sastri, proclaim to the whole Badaga world that a girl is of marriageable age.

In colour the Badagas are lighter than the other hill tribes, and the comparative pallor of the skin is specially noticeable in the females, whom, with very few excep-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

KOṄGARU

●614 [552] Although this name is applied to many Wodeas and is also an epithet for a stupid fellow, *Koṅgaru* literally means 'people from the plains', i.e., from the medieval kingdom of Koṅgu.

There are several villages of Badagas called Koṅgaru; for this is also the name of a high-ranking clan, aside from other usages of the word. Reputedly the Koṅgaru of Ha:llaṭṭi were descended from concubines in the service of the chieftain of Male Ko:ṭe. Other Koṅgaru were Lingayats who, like the Adikiris, came from Saragu:r in southern Mysore. Their traditional occupation, up to 1900, was said to have been temple custodians and priests (Rhiem, 1900, 499–500). They are usually considered descendants of a Wodea man and a Gauda woman. Again we encounter the tale of some Koṅgaru having fallen away from their principles and been denied *liṅgas* because one of their youths ate meat to please a low-caste girl whom he loved (Metz, 1864, 49–50; Grigg, 1880, 221; Tignous, 1911, 117).

HA:RUVAS

This clan's name is the Kannada word for Brahmin (Kittel, 1894, 1650; Burrow and Emeneau, 1961, 273). Thurston's (1909, vol. I, 73) alternative suggestion that it means 'jumper' and refers to their method of fire-walking is unconvincing. Most phratries walk ceremonially on fire. Now a distinct clan, Ha:ruvas press the claim to Brahmin origin although local legend does not entirely support this. Instead it is generally believed that Ha:ruvas were a group of priests (of a sept called Brahma) who accompanied some Gaudas, though not the earliest group, when they entered the hills.[16] They came from Ho:sahaḷḷi-Girubeṭṭa (or perhaps Haććini Na:ga-paṭṭana), and as they brought no women with them were unable to maintain the endogamy that is so typical of Brahmins.[17] At first they intermarried with the Gaudas of Kasturi clan—itself believed descended from fallen-away Brahmins—and in later years Ha:ruvas also married Koṅgaru, Adikiris and Kanakkas. Up till the [595] eighteenth century the shortage of marriageable women, which had prompted fraternal polyandry, was somewhat aggravated by the practice of *sati* among Ha:ruva, Gauda and perhaps Torea widows. This custom came to an end, probably under Moslem

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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[595]

influence, before the British reached the hills, and Badaga widows have remarried freely ever since, while polyandry has disappeared.[18]

Although Ha:ruvas may marry Gaudas there is a legend that the two groups were originally 'brothers' and thus agnates. When these people first came to the hills, the tale goes, they were wandering through a forest in search of food. At last they found some flesh and many ate it; those abstaining became Ha:ruvas, priests to the rest (Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 45; Benbow, 1930, 9, 11). Another legend on the same theme relates that the founders of Me:lu:ru Hosa:ṭṭi, the first Ha:ruva village, were two brothers named Uliajjan and Guruajjan. The elder of the pair chose at one time to eat flesh, and when Guruajjan discovered this he went away to found the villages of Taṅga:ḍu and Ha:lakore. Uliajjan became an outcast whose descendants have been absorbed into various Gauda villages (Jogi Gowder, no date, 1–2). The sequence in which the Ha:ruva villages were founded is shown in Diagram 1.

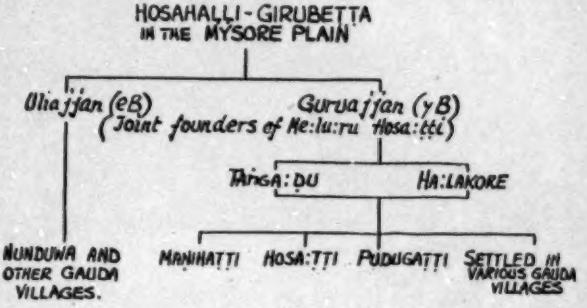

Diagram 1. The descent of the Ha:ruvas.

ADIKIRIS

This clan recall that their Virashaiva ancestors came in a large group from Mallikaḷḷi via Saragu:r (southern Mysore) and settled at Nellitore, a place sacred to them on the plains directly below

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

●614 Pakkasu:ra Ko:ṭe. It was here that the Virashaiva saint Kariabeṭṭa Raya had earlier drowned himself. Until recently the ruins of their houses were visible; the pool where he drowned still is. After half a century there the community was nearly exterminated by malaria, and six surviving men moved onto the plateau. After staying for a while at Tu:du:ru and Tadasimarahaṭṭi they founded the first five of the sixteen villages which Adikiris still inhabit (Francis, 1908, 316). The sequence of their foundation is shown in Diagram 2. The founder of Adigaraṭṭi was then made a magistrate (*adikari*) by a power nominally ruling over the Nilgiris.

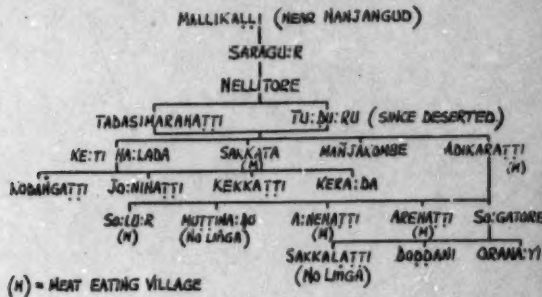

Diagram 2. The descent of the Adikiris.

The Wodea families already living there could not believe that the Adikiris were truly Lingayats (perhaps because they were of an ancient Virashaiva sect) and therefore refused marriage with them. It was this exclusiveness which drove the Adikiris, Kaṇakkas and Kaggusis into marrying non-Lingayats.

Certain of the villages (marked by *M* in the diagram) are now non-vegetarian. There are legendary explanations for this phenomenon. Just as in the story of the founding of Me:lu:ru Hosa:ṭṭi, it is said that Saṅga, the founder and headman of Adigaraṭṭi, was starving and hence began to shoot birds and eat them.[19] His younger brother Liṅga was so incensed that he went away and founded another village, So:gatore. In Adigaraṭṭi and several other villages the founding Adikiris were obliged to marry Gauda women who retained their own customs, including the eating of meat. The descendants of one who married a Sholaga tribes-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

614 woman at So:lu:ru became Gaudas too. In Sakkata the Adikiri was obliged to marry a Torea woman, who also could not become a vegetarian.[20] Their offspring married Gaudas and followed Gauda customs, it is said, but their recent descendants in that village are Toreas.

Since that time there has been a clan of meat-eating Adikiris who are not permitted to wear the *linga* and who only intermarry with Gaudas. To all intents and purposes their four villages are now Gauda. More recently two villages, Muttina:du and Sakkalaṭṭi, have stopped wearing the *linga* but retained vegetarianism, and they are still treated as Adikiris for marriage purposes.

KAṆAKKAS

Prior to 1819 Kaṇakkas were the only literate people in the hills. They were brought there more recently than all other Badagas by the commander of Hatra Ko:ṭe to keep the village accounts; but they also acquired a reputation as therapists and exorcists. While they speak Badagu today, their early writings, still preserved on about 500 palm leaves in Ka:ṭe:ri and Hajju:r, are in an antiquated script of Tamil. Some of the texts are devotional in character, but many are the exercises of tyro scribes. It is rumoured that in origin Kaṇakkas were Gaundans from the Coimbatore Plain who had been converted to Lingayatism before coming to the Nilgiris. *Kaṇakkan* is in fact the name of a Tamilian accounting caste, a few of whom are Lingayats (Thurston, 1909, vol. III, 150). These in the Nilgiris would seem to have been for a while under Tamilian superiors stationed at Dannaika Ko:ṭe or nearby Kallantore.[21]

The first Kaṇakka village to be founded was Ka:ṭe:ri. The man

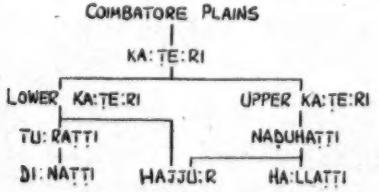

Diagram 3. The descent of the Kanakkas.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

614 who started it was Jambuliṅgayya, secretary of the chieftain Bijjanarasu. He had two wives whose descendants occupied upper and lower Ka:ṭe:ri; and later generations from each of these areas founded other Kaṇakka villages, as indicated in Diagram 3.

Both the Kaṇakkas and the Adikiris began to intermarry with Ha:ruvas soon after settling in the hills: Adikiris also married Gauda women, while Kaṇakkas intermarried with Kaggusis and Koṅgaru. This step was forced on these Lingayat clans by a shortage of girls in their own community at that time: properly they should only have married other Lingayats.

KAGGUSIS

These people originated in Tagadu:r, from whose monastery they left as a band of refugee *Jaṅgamas* or monks; one clan of Wodeas had an identical origin. They first settled at the village of Kaggusi, and there left off wearing *liṅgas* because of the necessity to marry with Gauda women and the pollution of their *liṅgas* that would follow as a consequence. Later they spread out to establish or occupy another six villages; but on the occasion of a severe drought some retreated from Kaggusi to the low-lands and founded a village near Ha:sanu:ru, where they still live.

GAUDAS

615 Not only are there ten times as many Gaudas as members of any other phratry: their legendary history is proportionately more complex than any other.

Three facts are relevant to a dating of their arrival. The Gaudas themselves claim to have reached the Nilgiris before any other group, and the Lingayats and Ha:ruvas confirm that their ancestors found Gaudas there when they arrived. Secondly, their paramount chief, living at Tu:ne:ri, can number nineteen generations of ancestors, which would put their arrival back to the (174) sixteenth if not the fifteenth century. Thirdly, we may recall that Finicio saw Badagas at the village of Melcuntaõ in 1603. Assuming this was the Gauda village of Me:lkunda—and no other village offers a closer identification than this—we deduce that at least a part of the Gauda population had immigrated a century or

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 two before the Kumba:ra, Be:da and various Lingayat groupings.
[174] This accords with a Badaga tradition that the very first group of migrants were three brothers of the Kasturi sept or clan, who came
173 from Ka:rahaḷḷi and settled in the Ke:ti Valley, Kundena:ḍu and Cinna Kunnu:r.[22] Later the eastern half of the plateau was settled by seven brothers, their sister and her husband. Later still yet other Gaudas went to Todana:ḍu and Me:kuna:ḍu divisions.

615 It is not impossible that the Kasturi Gaudas had the same
●614 Virashaiva origins as the Adikiris or Wodeas. Some hold the belief that they were at first vegetarians and Lingayats. As so often happened in legendary times a Kasturi tasted meat, for which his daughter made him give up his *liṅga* to her husband, a Lingayat Adikiri. Thereafter the Kasturis intermarried mainly with other Gaudas.[23] A comparable story maintains that some Gaudas of Neḍugula are descended from 'Koṅgaru', Wodeas of Selandi clan, after some fell away from their phratry's principles and were denied *liṅgas* when one of their youths ate meat to please a Gauda girl whom he loved.[24]

Kasturi ('musk'), we may note, is also the name of a sept among the Kanarese Okkaligas. (Thurston, 1909, Vol. I, 75, and Vol, III,
615 256; see below, p. 79). This too reflects the Gaudas' origin, (especially as many Badagas at the 1891 census enumeration gave their caste as Okkaliga).[25] Today, few Badagas agree to a connexion with the Okkaliga community, conceivably because there are now hundreds of poor Okkaligas on the Nilgiri Plateau, recent immigrants who work as labourers and with whom Badagas do not associate except as employers and landlords. A more likely explanation, however, is that enumerators in 1891 failed to discover that *okkaliga* merely means 'permanent resident' in Baḍagu and is not a clan or caste designation among them. Nonetheless there are informants in the Nilgiris and Ha:sanu:ru who agree to an origin among the Okkaligas of Mysore; and both communities share the same rather distinctive personal names.

There is an ancient settlement of Okkaligas in the Coimbatore Plain, for example at the village of Nellitore from which the Adikiris ascended the Nilgiri slopes. The legend of how they got to Nellitore is worth recounting.

(539) ...Tippu Sultan wanted to marry an Okkaliga bride. The Okkaligas consented to it at first due to fear of the fanatic king, but subsequently decided to run away. So they dressed up a dog

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 539 like a bride, left it in the house and then ran away towards the south by the night. They were, it seems, chased by the Muslim troops but luckily there were floods in the river as soon as the Okkaligas crossed it. The Muslim troops finding it not possible to cross the river, returned to Mysore and the Okkaligas peacefully settled in the forest marginal areas (Nambiar & Bharathi, 1965, 3).

What is remarkable is that precisely the same legend, admittedly embellished with details from the Book of Exodus (xiv. 21–30), has been offered by Badagas both from the Nilgiris and Ha:sanu:ru to account for their flight from Mysore:

> About three hundred years ago one of the Moslem kings desired one of their daughters, and when she refused marriage he threatened to burn and plunder their villages. But the pride of the people was greater than their fear. To find one of their daughters in the harem of a Moslem dog was something that could not be tolerated...; and so, incited by their priests, they decided to escape.... With women, children, livestock, and all their cherished possessions, they swiftly escaped to the bank of a river which divided the wild tribes of the Nilgiris from the province of the sultan... a part of the army was hastily sent after the fleeing people, who were by that time near the banks of the Mayar, which formed the boundary. But how could they cross over? Strange to say,... the river parted and the followers reached the bank on the other side, while the disciples of the Prophet were suddenly swallowed up by the closing waters (trans. from Rhiem, 1900, 498).

615 As Nellitore is at the foot of the Nilgiri escarpment one is again led to suppose that some Badaga Gaudas derived from this Okkaliga caste. The probability is indeed high, for most Gaudas admit that they came from farming communities in the plains of Southern Mysore, where Okkaligas are today the dominant farming castes.

• 614 [615] Another important Gauda clan is called Maduve ('marriage') (also the name of a sept; see Diagram 4. Thurston, 1909, Vol. IV, 292). It was founded by a family of seven brothers led by one Aĉĉini, who fled from Talemale with a sister who was in danger of being ravished by a Moslem chieftain there (Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 1; Miles, 1951, 69). 'Each of these brothers is said to

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[p. 29]

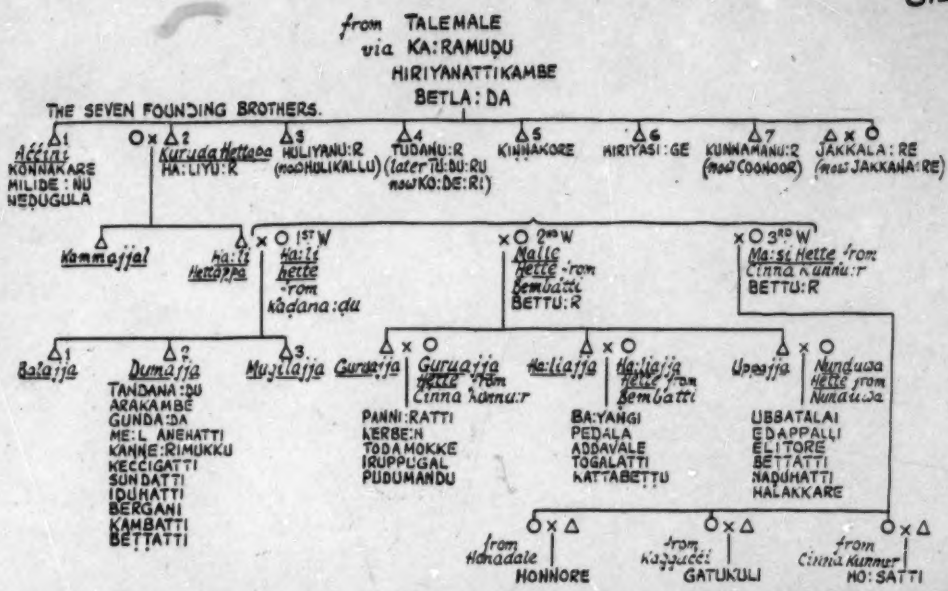

Diagram 4. The descent of the Maduve clan of Gaudas. (Ancestors indicated in italics, villages in capital letters)

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

•614 have built a house for himself and his family in different parts of the hills, and new villages were constructed by their descendants; so that the Badagas of this class are now scattered over all the tract...' (except Todana:ḍu) (Metz, 1864, 56–57). The sister's husband founded Jakkane:ri village, which thereafter had close affinal relations with the Maduve clan. As these people had been subject to the chieftain of Hatra Ko:ṭe, the clan was sometimes called Hatra (Metz, 1864, 56–57). That chieftain also maintained a palace north of the Nilgiris, at Talemale, and in the last century people of that area still interdined with these particular Badaga Gaudas (Metz, 1864, 47–48. Today the palace is in ruins; Nicholson, 1892, 426).

615 Nineteenth century literature on Badagas refers to numerous other 'castes' and 'sects', but some of these are in reality clans or lineages within the Gauda phratry, and others are septs; for example, the Duma, Kunaja, Ma:ri, Ma:nika and Beḷḷi (Metz, 1864, 57–60; Shortt and Ouchterlony, 1868, 58–59; Grigg, 1880, 221–222; Macleane, 1893, 64; Thurston, 1909, Vol. 1, 75; on septs, see below, 78–80). The total number of named lineages among

[614]

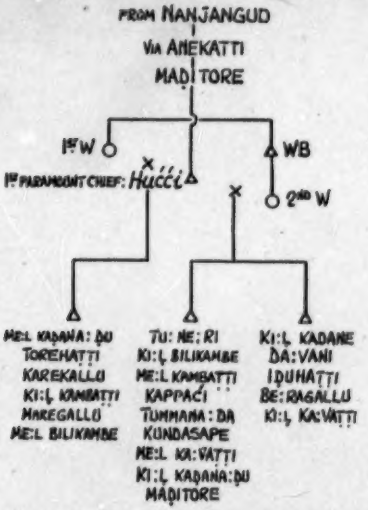

Diagram 5. The villages of Ma:ri clan of Gaudas.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 the Gaudas must approach a hundred: some have legends of origin, too, as do the clans. Ma:ri clan, for instance, to which the (614) paramount chief belongs, migrated from villages near the great temple of Nanjangud bearing an image of the goddess Ma:ri:[26] the Nilgiri villages founded by them are listed in Diagram 5. The Beḷḷi clan, supposedly descended from silversmiths *(beḷḷi,* 'silver'), may be an example of the various lineages started by itinerant tradesmen: usually these can intermarry with any other Gauda (612) lineage or clan. The Selandi sept preserves a vestige of totemism in that the members may not kill spiders *(selandi).*

On the fringes of the plateau one can find quite atypical marriage arrangements. In the southern village of Kinnakore, for example, Gaudas have a lineage intermarrying with Gaudas of the other Kundena:ḍu villages and also with Gaudas and Kanarese Okkaligas living at the foot of the hills in Attapaḍi and Pu:ḍu:r.[27] In eight villages around Ha:sanu:ru, forty kilometres northeast of the plateau, there live about 800 Badagas forming three phratries. They generally find it more convenient now to intermarry among their neighbours (observing clan and sept exogamy) than make the long journey to the Nilgiris in search of spouses.

WAINAD GAUDAS

615 There is no doubt that the small community of Wainad Gaudas (totalling 951 in 1970) is descended from Badaga Gaudas. Apart from their own assertion of it and their continuing intermarriage with Gaudas of Todana:ḍu, certain aspects of their material culture underline the connection: similar nose, ear, finger and ankle ornaments are worn by both communities; they have the same typically Badaga cuisine; and their two dialects are very similar. Furthermore, it is recognized that the people of Nandaṭṭi (in the Wainad), for instance, are agnates to the people of Nunduwa and Ta:mbaṭṭi (in the Nilgiris), although the Nandaṭṭi Gaudas had settled at Gudalu:ru in the Wainad prior to founding Nandaṭṭi twelve generations ago.[28] Once every few years a party of Wainad Gaudas attends the chariot-dragging festival in Nunduwa as a mark of their relationship. Su:lu:ru (in Todana:ḍu) has a similar link with each of the eight Wainad Villages.

The migration down into the Wainad occurred at least two

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 centuries ago and was prompted by shortage of land around some Nilgiri villages and by the acute poverty of farm-land in the Kundena:ḍu area. The Mauntadan Chettis amongst whom the Wainad Gaudas settled came originally from the same Koṅgu country which had been the homeland of many Gaudas. Unlike the Gaudas, however, these Chettis settled directly in the Wainad in medieval times, without pausing first on the Nilgiri Plateau. So close is the association between Mauntadan Chettis and the Todana:ḍu Badagas that these two communities also used to exchange visits on the occasion of some festivals and funerals. Certain Chettis living in the Muḍumalai National Park of the Wainad are called Huliala Gaudas: they went there from the nearby Badaga village of Hullaṭṭi, on the Nilgiris, but now intermarry only with Mauntadan Chettis. The Wainad Gaudas otherwise do not marry with these Chettis although they did so in previous centuries. The two communities interdine and attend each other's ceremonies.

BADAGAS OF HA:SANU:RU

361 Some seven kilometres east of Ha:sanu:ru in the Biligiri Rangan Hills are seven Badaga villages; an eighth lies in Karnataka, thirteen kilometres to the north of that town. These villages are in jungle clearings at an elevation of a thousand metres and were established there at least two centuries ago by Badagas who were
●614 forced out of the northern part of the Nilgiris by a famine.[29] The Ha:sanu:ru Gaudas are explicit that they had been Gangadikara Gaudas in Mysore; and they retain precisely the same stories about their flight as are still recounted in the Nilgiris (see above, particularly note 10; Thurston, 1909, Vol, I, 75, and Vol, III, 256; Nambiar, Bharathi, 1965, 3).

TOREAS

615 No legend of a separate origin has been collected from the Toreas. There is a caste of Kannada-speaking Toreas now living in Coimbatore, Salem and Mysore Districts, with whom Badaga Toreas occasionally arrange marriages; but since the dialects of the two differ the practice is most uncommon. Those found in the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

As a result of this political situation the plateau became involved in a long military struggle mainly for control of tribute collection from the Badagas. Tribute was then levied mostly in the form of grain, which Todas did not produce and which Kotas had scarcely any of. This struggle, sometimes between Moslems and Hindus, prompted the construction or capture of certain fortresses, both to terrorize the Badagas and to guard the passes around the foot of and up into the Nilgiris. The extraordinary visibility, even as far as Seringapatam, allowed commanders of the hill garrisons to detect obvious military manoeuvres in the plains and often guided them to cross the plateau and cut the enemy troops off as they came round the foot of its escarpments.

As an example of such movements a Kota historian has described how Haidar Ali attacked the 'king of Madurai', Virapandya Devan, in Dannaika Ko:ṭe in 1759 but was forced to retreat. The 'king' then sent an army into the Nilgiris to suppress Haidar's hill forts there, and this resulted in a battle at the commune of Tu:ḍu:ru (1760) in which Virapandya lost three thousand troops and Haidar emerged victorious to capture Dannaika Ko:ṭe for himself, while the beaten troops fled to Salem District.[31] Tu:ḍu:ru has since been deserted, the remnants of its nineteen-village population having settled in the nearby village of Ko:ḍe:ru.

It was during the sixteenth or seventeenth century that two important fortresses were erected, Male Ko:ṭe on the northern rim of the plateau and Hatra Ko:ṭe on the east side (reputedly founded in 1578). A third fort, Pakkasu:ra Ko:ṭe, had been built somewhat earlier on the Hulikal Drug mountain-top, to the south-east (Harkness, 1832, 107; Francis, 1908, 329. See Map 2 above, 24–25). Tradition has it that an Ummattu:r chieftain established altogether nine fortified settlements in the area, and the ruins of the remaining half-dozen are indeed still to be seen below the slopes—for example, at Ma:vanhaḷḷa; also he encouraged 350 Badaga families to migrate into the hills, doubtless scattering them in every village. (Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 104, and 1938–1941, 8). The Kotas still recall how Umat Arĕ (the Lord of Ummattu:r) and Udr Arĕ (the Lord Udaiya Raya) came to Ke:ti 'to collect the revenue money and built houses and lived there with wife and children' (Emeneau, 1946, 259). In Badaga tradition Bijjanarasu, son of the Ummattu:r chieftain, possibly founded Ke:ti and there collected an annual tribute of five hundred gold coins from all of Me:kuna:du.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

000 12. This usage accords with the definition in recent editions of Webster's *Dictionary*, e.g., 1967, 460. See below, p. 181, n. 2.

13. See below, pp. 223–225; also Diagram 9. There was supposedly a Christian community—but not necessarily of Badagas—near Avalanchi in the Kundena:ḍu division in medieval times: Finicio came in search of it, and the Todas have a legend about it: see Finicio, 1603, 719–720; Metz, 1864, 44; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 106.

14. Metz, 1864, 53. The correct name for Seringapatam is Sri Ranga Paṭṭana. On septs, see below, pp. 78–80.

15. The fact that Adikiris and Kanakkas have a dialect hardly varying from Standard Baḍagu is explained by their ready intermarriage with Gaudas, Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis; the Wodeas, Be:das, and Kumba:ras are mainly endogamous groupings.

16. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754; Francis, 1908, 131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73; Jogi Gowder, no date, 1: it is a Brahmin sept in Mysore.

17. Metz, 1864, 56; Macleane, 1893, 64. The same was true of Kaggusis: see below, p. 89.

18. Harkness, 1832, 106–107, note; Noble, 1976, 115–117; for Badaga polyandry, see Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754, 832, and Stuart, 1893, 243. Todas and Kurubas still practise polyandry: Thurston, 1906, 108–113.

●614 19. Metz, 1864, 50–51; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 28. Adigaraṭṭi derives from *adikari* ('powerful man') and *haṭṭi* ('village'). A variant of this legend has the early Adikiris following a chieftain named Kariabeṭṭa Ra:ya who, like Moses, was fated to lead them to the promised land without setting foot on it himself. After passing through Ha:sanu:ru to Nellitore and staying there for a time, they went on to Attupaḍi, at the foot of the southeast slopes, and some settled there. Their Lingayat descendants still inhabit that village but are now Gaudas. The chieftain led the remainder on to found another village called Nerben, in Kundena:ḍu; it no longer exists. After the chieftain had died there some of the settlers went on to Nedika:ḍ, near Adigaraṭṭi, and soon founded the latter village. Descendants of the chieftain's family and retinue thus came to be called 'powerful men' because of their association with him, in recognition of which the *jammis* gave them the duty of village magistrates.

[562] 20. The pollution of having eaten meat can be removed from men alone.

000 21. Metz, 1864, 50–54; Grigg, 1880, 221; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73. The correct name for the outpost usually called Dannaika Koṭṭe or Danayakan Koṭṭe is Da:na Na:yaka Koṭṭe, 'the fort of the commander Daṇa;' Nicholson, 1898, 425–426. It was established in 1318 by Madappa Daṇḍanāyaka, who then was ruling over the Nilgiris and Wainad; Rea, 1910, 111; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 100. On Koḷḷandore, see below.

615 175 22. Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 29–30; Karl, 1945, 2; the eldest, a cripple, settled at Ćinna Kunnu:r. Among the very early villages in *Todina:ḍu* were Kaḍana:ḍu, settled from Ka:rahaḷḷi (near Tagadu:r); Tu:ḍegu:r E:koni, from Kavaspadi (or Agaswadi) or else Tayu:r; Ćinna Kunnu:r, from Koṅgaḷḷi (near Ummattu:r); Ebbana:ḍu, from Urigaddige or Ho:sahaḷḷi; Ku:kalu, from Guṇḍulupe:te; Honatale, from Honhaḷḷi; and So:lu:ru, from Su:lu:r. The earliest *Me:kuna:ḍu* villages were Me:lu:ru, settled from Urigaddige or Veḷḷa:di; Tu:ḍu:ru, settled by the fourth of seven brothers from Poraṅga:ḍu and later deserted; Ta:mbaṭṭi, also settled from Poraṅga:ḍu; Ki:ru:ru and

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Nunduwa, settled from Urigaddige; Hulikal, from Honhalli; and Ke:tu, from Kongalli. The earliest *Kundena:du* villages were also settled from Kongalli. Apart from Honatale, Ki:ru:ru and Nunduwa, each of the above Badaga villages became the head of a commune as other hamlets grew up around it; and each is marked as head of a commune by having a ceremonial stone structure called *akka bakka*.

23. Another name sometimes given the Kasturis is Gangalu:ru; Metz, 1864, 58–59. This is quite possibly a variant of Gangadikara, the name of a large section of Okkaligas.

24. Metz, 1864, 49–50; Grigg, 1880, 221; Tignous, 1911, 117. A variant account is that he thought he had eaten meat, though the item was really a wild vegetable in the curry.

25. Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 74. It may be significant that in the same census certain Okkaligas in Mysore gave their subcaste as Badagar; Rice, 1897, vol. I, 229. Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 80, derives only the Kasturi clan from Gangadikaras, but Gaudas of Ha:sanu:ru claim the same origin.

26. Metz, 1864, 47–48, 57–58; he gave the villages as Tayu:r and Tagadu:r. Tayu:r had a well-built mud fortress on a river bank. By 1801 it was in ruins and the countryside showed signs of having been much more cultivated in previous times; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 150–151.

27. Finicio possibly passed through Pa:du:r in 1603, causing the Badagas to flee to the jungle; Finicio, 1603, 729–730.

28. Baber, 1830, 314; for an instance of intermarriage between Nandalli and So:lu:ru see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

29. This account of their migration is confirmed by villagers in that part of the plateau.

30. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 755; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73. A comparable usage is found in southern Mysore; see Epstein, 1962, 181.

31. Balu, 1960, 4. This story is not accurate in its details, for in 1760 the Governor of Madurai was an English creature, Yusuf Khan; perhaps Balu was referring to a skirmish with a tributary chieftain *(pa:layake:r)*, but one bearing a suspiciously medieval name!

32. Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 136. This and other rings still in the possession of several headmen were given by Chikka Deva Raya (1672–1704), who supposedly took Kadana:du from Ummattu:r in 1676; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 100; Wilks, 1930, vol. II, 225; Emeneau, 1971, 102.

33. Ouchterlony, 1848, 81, see below, p. 170. Pakkasu:ra, the chief of Hulikal Drug, is depicted in Badaga myth as a demon, whom the villagers had to feed with a daily cartful of rice complete with driver, until he was finally slain by the hero Bhima; compare Congreve, 1847, 142; Francis, 1908, 329. This story is a parochialized version of one in the *Mahabharata* I, 160; for 'the three kings or chiefs of the mountains,' see Harkness, 1832, 120. An inscription at Rampura, west of Nanjangud (Mysore), dated to A.D. 1504, describes one Govanna-Odeyar, a native of that place, as 'champion over the three kings, protector of the Nilagiri;' Rice, 1894, vol. III, 100, 191, n. 47. Emeneau, 1971, 1, records 'three kingdoms' in Toda thinking.

34. The exceptional nature of Kundena:du is underlined by the common Badaga phrase, 'All the four divisions, including Kunda.' The relative recency of its settlement is also indicated by the fact that it lies to the west of Me:kuna:-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

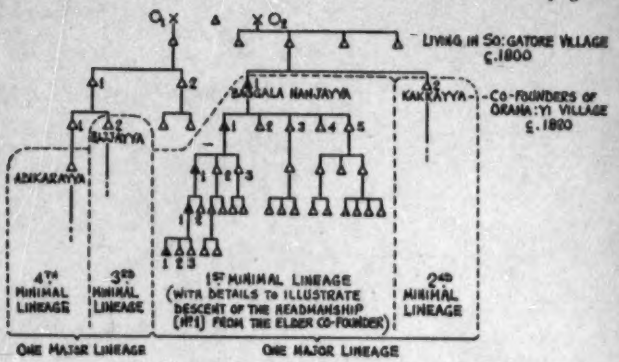

Diagram 6. O:ranayi village: A maximal lineage.

613 with someone outside the villager's own lineage, be it minimal, minor, major or maximal, his fellow members are usually willing to support him even though this means agreeing to false evidence. Such behaviour helps keep land and other valuables within the lineage and can also uphold the good name of a lineage and the village it inhabits. Solidarity is also expressed when a man wants 613 to sell some land. He must offer it first to other members of his 423 minimal or minor lineage, then to his major lineage, then to his maximal, then to any other inhabitants of his village, then to people in neighbouring villages. Only in the unusual case when nobody in this sequence will buy may he offer the land to Badagas from elsewhere. The land surrounding each village is typically owned by families of that village only.

CLAN

● 614 Several maximal lineages make up the *clan* (in American terminology, the *sib*). Like the lineage the clan is exogamous; but it is (121) rarely confined to a single village. A lineage embraces all the patrilateral descendants of a known common ancestor (Schusky, 1965, 77) whereas a clan, made up of two or more lineages, is a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

unilinear kin group in which actual descent from a common male ancestor is now only a presumption (Gillin, 1948, 439; Murdock 1949, 66; Firth, 1951, 53; for fuller information on Badaga kinship, see Hockings, in press).

At this level of social organization the unit is spatially widespread: two clans are confined to a single village each (only among Kumba:ras); others are represented in clusters of nearby villages, while over half the forty-four clans are Nilgiri-wide in occurrence.

Clans are relevant in the arrangement of marriages, for there are fixed rules about which clans may marry; for example, Adikiris may marry Ha:ruvas but never Kaggusis. Clans may also form a community of interest for the pursuit of really serious disputes. In 1897, for instance, the Ha:ruvas of two different lineages in neighbouring villages were in dispute over which should have precedence during the annual fire-walking ceremony at Me:lu:ru. Having arrived at a compromise by which each group celebrated the festival on the alternate years, the whole Ha:ruva clan laid claim to a higher status than Wodeas, Adikiris or Kaṇakkas. A schism within the Ha:ruva clan has not emerged since (see below, pp. 203–204).

PHRATRY

Among the Badagas two to fourteen clans form a larger unit that we call the *phratry*. Most of these phratries and some of the clans have been called sects or subcastes by previous authors, if only because they are named social units. It is manifestly confusing, however, to apply the same term to two quite distinguishable kinds of social unit. A phratry is usually defined as a grouping of two or more clans whose members assume a conventional bond of kinship which, though undemonstrable, is at least supported with a story of their common origin. In the Badaga community most phratries are non-exogamous, but in certain cases exogamy is tolerated; no Badaga phratry is totally endogamous (Lowie, 1948, 338; compare Diagram 7). The phratries each carry a distinguishable subculture. The smallest in size are divided into two clans, identifiable as agnates and affines. Phratries with more than about a thousand members have a larger number of clans and thus a more complex internal organization. In this respect the two thousand Christians mark the extreme of complexity.

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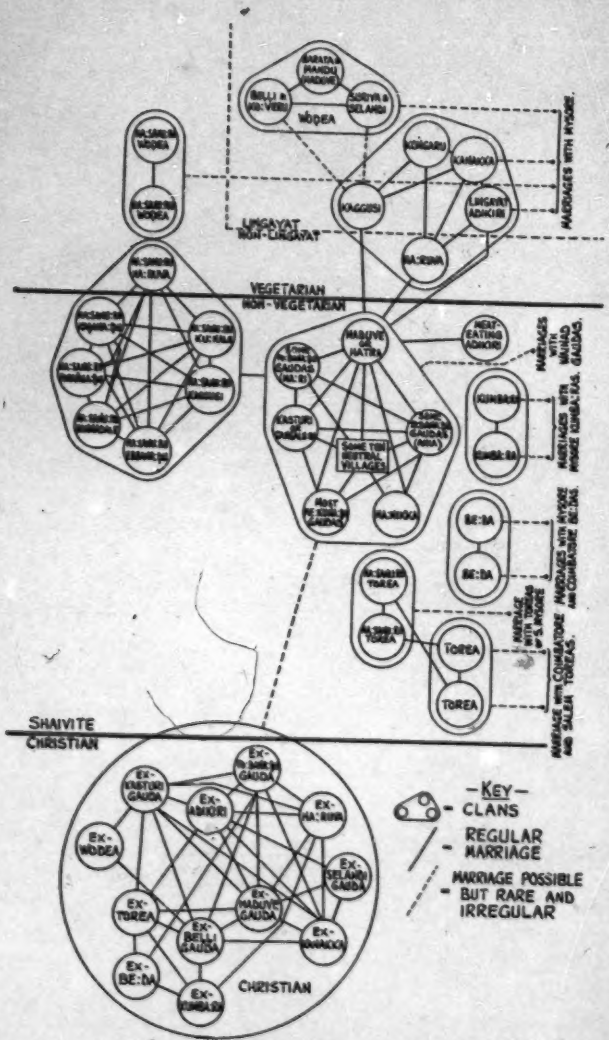

Diagram 7. The Badaga clans and phratries

[p.767]

-21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

612

Su:riya ('sun')	former chieftains from Mysore; some Wodeas
Chandra ('moon')	servants of the former rulers, Koṅgaru (?)
Barata ('finger')	some Wodeas
Brahma (god Brahma)	Ha:ruvas
Beḷḷi ('silver')	some Wodeas, Kaggusis, Gaudas of Jakkatala and Neḍugula; some Toreas of Kaige:ru area; some Be:das
Selandi ('spider')	some Wodeas and Gaudas of Hulikal and 'Koṅgaru' Gaudas—both descended from Wodeas
Ko:ve:ru (Cauvery R.)	some Wodeas, some Adikiris, and Toreas descended from those Adikiris
Madure (holy city of Madurai)	some Wodeas
Kasturi ('musk')	some Adikiris, some Gaudas of Ke:ti, and some Toreas of Ebbana:du
Mallige ('jasmine')	some Kumba:ras and Be:das
Ania ('aliens', 'different people')	Gaudas of Ku:kalu and Nañjana:ḍu
Ma:ri (goddess Ma:ri)	Gaudas of Todana:du
Maduve ('marriage')	some Wodeas; Gaudas of Poraṅga:ḍu
Ma:nika ('gem')	Kaṇakkas (who claim their sept to be Ma:nta); some Gaudas of Jakkane:ri; some Toreas
Na:ga ('cobra')	some Toreas of Kappaḷḷi area
Samandi ('champac flower')	some Kumba:ras

612
• 614 Of living Badagas few, even among the elders, know much about their septs, but in earlier times these were very relevant, particularly before the society took on its present structure, and also when marriages were being arranged between families of clans not well known to each other; '... exogamy having progressed, if we may say so, more rapidly than social differentiation, it was necessary to call into question an increasingly large number of clans, to adapt the old institutions to the new rules' (trans. from Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 480). In the reorganization of social thinking that followed settlement on the hills, Badagas may well have found membership

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

612 in already established septs a helpful guide, the rule of sept
(614) exogamy and the wide knowledge of their names protecting against in-breeding between families from the same descent group.

In former times the septs were quasi-totemic, as elsewhere in India.[3] One old lady of Selandi ('spider') sept recently asserted that members of that collectivity should never kill a spider; Wodeas of Belli ('silver') sept may not wear silver ornaments; Toreas, however, no longer have a special relation with the cobra though some belong to Na:ga ('cobra') sept and were formerly forbidden to kill it.

The Badagas do not distinguish between what Lévi-Strauss (following S.V. Karandikar) calls big and little *gotras* (septs). 'Big' *gotras* are said to be of recent Brahminic origin and few in number; whereas 'little' *gotras* 'appearing sometimes as territorial groups, sometimes as lineages, as clans or subdivisions of a clan, sometimes patrilineal and sometimes matrilineal, are ... the object of exogamous rules of great complexity' (trans. from Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 478–479). Clearly the Badaga septs are 'little' *gotras*. As such they were concerned, not with political divisions or different schools of ritual, but solely with the arrangement of marriage alliances. Each of their sixteen septs is distributed through one or several clans; conversely, the Gaudas belong to seven septs, and other phratries to as few as two septs.

JATI, MARRIAGE PREFERENCE AND ROLE AMBIGUITY

615 Although it is possible to view the society as a pair of moieties, the phratries, like social units in nearly every part of India, are ranked by members into a hierarchy about which there is considerable but not total agreement.[4]

All Hindu Badagas agree that the Christians are now the lowest phratry, and this estimation is reflected in disapproval of intermarriage and a lack of formal interdining between Christians and the higher phratries. There is also agreement that the Toreas are next lowest; higher groups should neither dine nor intermarry with them. At the other end of the scale there is near-universal accord on the supreme position of Wodeas. Though the great majority of the community are not Lingayats they cite the purity of a Wodea's vegetarian diet and the orthodoxy of his sectarian observances as

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

582 [538] Another factor entering into the choice of a bride is expressed in the proverb, 'Have the girl from a far-away place; have the cow from a nearby place.'[7] It is generally felt that a woman from a distant village who is a classificatory cross-cousin will make the best of wives, for she will not take too many liberties with affines who are not previously well-known to her, and at the same time she will be unable to run home to her parents too often; in short, she is likely to remain in the marital home and work adequately there. An example of an ideal marriage with a classificatory father's sister's daughter is to be seen in Diagram 9 (p. 179) (the man marked X). The principle of 'equivalence' of brothers in this kinship table makes X's wife a cross-cousin to him.

565 [121] In Chapter 10 we will discuss the manner in which the modern Badaga community is becoming a class society. We should nonetheless note here that already by the nineteenth century a class of 'gentry' had arisen in each village. This is the term I have chosen for the families descended from the village founders and including all of the headman. As will be seen, these people had higher social status than others and a peculiar status in Badaga law, to be explored in Chapter 8.

128 The marriage system which now links the forty-four Badaga clans into ten phratries is a very complex one and calls for a clarifying diagram to accompany the following pages of description. Each circle in Diagram 7 represents one clan, and the intervening lines link clans which customarily intermarry. Clans have been grouped into phratries. The dotted lines mark irregular but acceptable patterns of marriage. The subcultural divisions between Lingayats and other Shaivites, between Christians and Shaivites, and between vegetarians and meat-eaters, have also been indicated.

WODEAS

615 [162] The majority of Badagas rank Wodeas as the highest phratry in the community.[8] They occupy twelve villages scattered across the plateau, some very close to the villages of lower phratries. Their villages are not all exogamous. There are perhaps four thousand Wodeas, distributed among three unnamed clans, or six septs. These septs, with their variant names, are as follows:

615 614 612 Clan I: Ṣu:riya and Selandi (or Sedili) septs;

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Clan II: Ko:ve:ru (Ko:vu:r or Koyaru) and Beḷḷi septs;
Clan III: Barata and Maduve (otherwise Maituve or Mandu) septs. This last clan, whose ancestors had come from the Aṅgala monastery where they were *Jaṅgama* priests, provides priests (Woderu) for most other Badagas.

Because the clans are not actually named, the confusing practice has grown up of referring to them either by the names of villages where they are found or by the names of their constituent septs. Further identification of the clans is found in the unusual feature of their recognizing clan deities. As with the Lingayat Mallavas of Coorg (Srinivas, 1942, 36–37), Wodeas who worship the same god may not intermarry.

Wodea marriages are arranged between members of any two of the three clans, even if between inhabitants of the same village; marriages also link those of the Nilgiris with those of Ha:sanu:ru. Since the beginning of this century marriages have been contracted with Lingayat girls from the Wodea caste of Mysore who, unlike Badaga girls, bring a dowry and are often well-educated: outsiders are thus increasingly entering the community. Some intermarriage with Kaggusis has occurred, and in a few cases Wodea girls have married Kaṇakkas.[9]

Wodeas, however, cite not only their supposed royal origins[10] but also the longer time they have lived in the Nilgiris as reasons for the near-absence of intermarriage between them and the other Lingayat clans. Initially, too, they were suspicious about whether these immigrants really were Lingayats; and furthermore the fact that people of these three clans may marry non-Lingayats is obviously not lost on the Wodeas. Locally they are considered a very conservative and orthodox Lingayat group, in the sense that they abide strictly by whatever prescriptions and proscriptions of the Lingayat creed are known to them. Lingayats of Mysore might regard them as rather unorthodox, though, for the Badagas were illiterate until this century and were thus unable to read Lingayat scriptures or even to follow the religious calendar properly (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). Apparently the Wodeas had established their position as a self-perpetuating phratry in the Nilgiris before the other Lingayats arrived.

In the past Wodeas did not accept food from Ha:ruvas or any socially inferior phratry but would eat in the inner room of any other Wodea house (Grigg, 1880, 220). Their food may only be cooked in metal vessels, not earthenware. Other Badagas take

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 (264) food (always vegetarian) only in the outer, less-sacred part of a Wodea house. Members of the Nilgiri tribes accept food from the Wodeas too, but are not allowed to pass beyond the veranda into the house.

KOṄGARU

These people, like Ha:ruvas, wear a single thread without *liṅga* and are vegetarian. They intermarry with Kaṇakkas, Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis. There are four villages of Kongaru.

HA:RUVAS

614 (162) (793) (615) Like the Wodeas, the one clan of Ha:ruvas numbers about four thousand people. They occupy only six villages, but this does not imply that the villages are unusually large, for very often a Ha:ruva family lives permanently in a Gauda village. Perhaps half the Ha:ruvas are so distributed, as they have traditionally been priests in Gauda and Torea temples. Of the five clans making up the phratry to which they belong (the only unnamed one), Ha:ruvas alone have challenged the Wodeas for primacy in the social hierarchy. The ramifications of this claim will be explored when the Badaga factions are discussed (see below, pp. 203–204).

(795) Ha:ruvas are vegetarian Shaivites but not Lingayats. For over a century they have been claiming that they were originally Brahmins before leaving Mysore and that they should therefore be treated as such.[11] This Brahminization, reminiscent of the nineteenth-century Kherwar movement in the Santal tribe (Orans, 1965, 36–37), has been primarily an attempt to gain higher rank. Little of Ha:ruva behaviour accords with that of true Mysore Brahmins, however. The three indicators in support of their Brahminhood are the observable facts that they are vegetarians, they wear a thread across the left shoulder and they have acted as temple priests to the great majority of Shaivite Badagas.[12]

(212) Despite these arguments the subculture of the Ha:ruvas is for Brahmins a most atypical one: they have no special ceremony for investiture of the sacred thread and do not consider themselves 'twice-born'; the thread itself has only one strand instead of the customary three; until this century they were totally illiterate in Sanskrit, Tamil and Kannada; and they are altogether exoga-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

614 mous. They are in fact like any other Badaga clan in matters of marriage, having unions with other clans of dissimilar subculture, especially the Kanakkas, and even marrying meat-eating Gaudas.

614 262 If a Ha:ruva girl marries a Gauda then no meat is ever cooked in his house, and his wife remains a vegetarian. If her husband wants to eat meat he may arrange to have some cooked elsewhere and eat it away from home. The children of the union are fully Gaudas and will normally be non-vegetarians. When the Ha:ruva woman dies her household usually reverts to a non-vegetarian diet. It has been reported that, on the other hand, 'If a Badaga [Gauda] woman marries a Haruva she has to give up meat-eating and, to cleanse her, a red hot iron is put to her tongue' [13] 'After this she would not dare to eat meat... she would lose her eyesight' (Karl, 1945, 3). From this we can see that a woman married into a Ha:ruva family is expected to accept its dietary norms, whereas a Ha:ruva girl married into a socially lower clan is not expected to accept their diet (Tignous, 1911, 117). A Ha:ruva girl marrying into a Lingayat family does not change her diet but will have to wear the *linga* if it is offered her and to behave as a Lingayat. When a Ha:ruva man marries a Lingayat girl he continues to wear his thread while she usually continues to wear the *linga* if it has already been given her (see Plate 6).

614 264 Ha:ruvas are willing to accept food in the inner and more sacred room (where household gods are installed) of any other clan except the Toreas. They would not demean themselves by entering a Torea house; and they would probably be offered food only in the outer room of a Wodea house. Wodeas never accept food in a Ha:ruva home as they consider Ha:ruvas inferior; but the other three Lingayat clans will eat in the inner room of a Ha:ruva house. Even meat-eating Adikiris, who are not Lingayats, can be [574] offered vegetarian food in the inner Ha:ruva room. The same holds true for visiting Gaudas and Kaggusis, people who may often come if related to the Ha:ruva household by marriage. Until the 1950s the Ha:ruvas also allowed Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasuvas to eat in the outer room, but Kotas were thought too polluting to pass beyond the entrance; since that time only Todas have been allowed into the house.

ADIKIRIS

614 [162] The vegetarian Adikiris are a Lingayat clan numbering perhaps

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

614 (162) 3,500 people who inhabit sixteen villages scattered across the plateau. Though they should only marry with Ha:ruvas or Kaṇakkas, in the past eighty years a few Adikiri people have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore villages. It is rare on the other hand for a girl to go from the Nilgiris to Mysore in marriage. There have also been a few irregular cases of vegetarian Adikiris marrying meat-eating Gaudas (but never meat-eating Adikiris).

(621) The Adikiri villages come closer to being a corporate group than any of the other clans, except for the two tiny phratries of Kumba:ras and Be:das. This solidarity stems from the fact that Adikiris, alone of all the clans, hold an 'annual reunion'. Every (796) November they go to the village of Nellitore, on the Coimbatore Plain, to worship at the place where a Lingayat saint was drowned. It was from this point that the original six Adikiris started up into the Nilgiris.[14] Today it is obligatory for at least a few men from each Adikiri village to attend the annual function, to which members of other Badaga clans are also welcome.

(771) Despite this demonstration of Adikiri solidarity there have been several defections from the clan and its Lingayat values. In one village (Sakkata) Adikiris married with Toreas a few generations ago and now are treated as Toreas although sometimes called Adikiris. In one other Gauda village (So:lu:ru) Adikiris have intermarried with meat-eating Gaudas. In both these situations the soi-disant Adikiris are no longer vegetarians or Lingayats (Metz, 1864, 50-51). The three other meat-eating Adikiri villages do not dine with Toreas, but they may take a meal in the inner room of a Gauda house. In two villages of vegetarian Adikiris the *linga* is not worn, but the inhabitants retain the name and status of Adikiris and belong to the same clan, though they are not considered Lingayat.[15]

614 264 Adikiris and Kanakkas eat only in the houses of Wodeas, Ha:ruvas and Koṅgaru, where they can feel sure of receiving the correctly prepared vegetarian dishes. Adikiris, like Kaṇakkas, admit Ha:ruvas, Kaggusis and other Lingayats to the inner room for meals (though Wodeas refuse to eat with them). Meat-eating Adikiris, Gaudas and Toreas, as well as Todas, may only eat in the outer room, while other Nilgiri tribesmen may not enter the house at all.

KAṆAKKAS

614 (162) There are perhaps three thousand Kaṇakkas. Although now

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

614 (162) agriculturists like all other Badagas they once held the monopoly over literacy in the Nilgiris (Grigg, 1880, 221). Their name means 'accountant', and refers to their former position as village accountants under the Ummattu:r régime. Although the Kaṇakkas are (795) Lingayats and today have a status equal to the Adikiris', there are some Badagas who whisper darkly that Kaṇakkas were in origin (186) Tamilian, unlike all others. The Kaṇakka clan themselves would not own to this, for experience with Tamil Nadu officials has led most Badagas to look down upon the Tamilian.

Kaṇakkas intermarry with Adikiris, Ha:ruvas, Koṅgaru and Kaggusis and during this century some have married girls from Lingayat families of Mysore villages. A few cases of Kaṇakkas marrying Wodeas have been cited above. As Kaṇakkas and Adikiris marry much more frequently with each other than with any other clan, and as both are Lingayat groups, they are now (264) accorded equal status by all other Badagas. The rules for Kaṇakka commensality are precisely the same as those of Adikiris.

KAGGUSIS

(162) Among the smaller clans is the Kaggusi, numbering about two (795) thousand. The people inhabit eight villages; they are vegetarians and Lingayats, but instead of wearing a personal *liṅga* they have one sacred *rudrakśa* bead on a string round the neck and do a daily *pu:ja* to that. Their marriages are mainly with Gaudas, though also with Kaṇakkas and occasionally Wodeas. As soon as Kaggusi men reached the plateau and married Gauda girls they left off wearing the *liṅga* and kept it in their houses, as they still do. It is noteworthy that Adikiris will not marry Kaggusis on the grounds that, as Kaṇakkas *do* marry them, the Kaggusis must be fictive brothers to the Adikiris (although the two in fact belong to different septs); yet no such argument stops the Adikiri from marrying a Ha:ruva though logic dictates that it should. An explanation lies in the higher status Adikiris accord to Ha:ruvas.

(264) Kaggusis allow vegetarians and the meat-eating Gaudas into the inner room for a meal, but they feed the lower meat-eating phratries in the outer room. Members of other tribes may eat only on the veranda.

GAUDAS

615 About eighty per cent of the entire population is Gauda, so that

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 (162) (128) this particular phratry is commonly called 'Badaga'. At a rough estimate it numbers eighty thousand. I prefer to use the correct but not widely recorded name Gauda, as it obviates the confusion that can arise in calling one phratry and the entire community by the same name. The word *Gauda* also points to their derivation from the Kanarese farmers and cattle-breeders known by that name (a branch of the Okkaliga caste; Thurston, 1906; vol. II, 269–272).

The Badaga Gaudas today occupy some three hundred villages; hence, unlike the members of a smaller phratry, no Gauda can hope to have friends or relatives in every village. Often a man cannot be too certain about whether a particular *distant* village belongs to his own or to another clan. This can raise difficulties when a marriage is being arranged with a village into which the groom's lineage or village has not previously married. Otherwise, the Gaudas can assign every village with which they have marriage connexions to one clan or another (aside from some special cases).

● 614 582 (615) So far as I can ascertain the Gaudas have six clans plus ten 'neutral' villages which may have marriage relationships with any other Gauda village. It appears—and informants confirm this—that the unwieldly size of clans with over ten thousand different kinds of solution. The first employs divisional boundaries—the only situation in which the larger political divisions of the Nilgiris are relevant in the arrangement of marriages. Gaudas observe a rule that clan exogamy is essential only in marriages arranged between two villages *within* the same division. If the village is in any of the other three divisions, and if there is no known precedent of a marriage with that particular village, then it is usually *treated* as a member of another clan even though it would be possible to argue that it belonged to the same clan were the villagers to trace out a network of other known marriage connexions that indirectly link the two villages. If in one's own division two villages A and B have both had marriages with village C, then A and B usually belong to the same clan and call themselves 'brothers'. But if the villages A and B are in different political divisions then the fact that at some time they both married people from (or into) village C—which might be anywhere in the three other divisions of the plateau—is deemed irrelevant. In practice, where a history of marriage with C could be demonstrated for both A and B, the villagers would usually rationalize the

614 582 knowledge by saying: 'After all, the connexion is too distant to matter; we are not marrying our own blood.' In effect they are giving up the ideal of clan exogamy in these cases while retaining the more meaningful ideal of village and lineage exogamy. The clans have now become so large that Gaudas can no longer look upon them as corporate groups. This adjustment in thinking is necessary because the old names for the clans have been forgotten and because the detailed knowledge Badagas carry of their kinship field—often embracing over three hundred people—coupled with the tremendous accumulation of relatives that comes from numerous births and frequent remarriages could otherwise make the ideal of clan exogamy totally unrealizable.

There is another manipulation to surmount this problem. Ten non-exogamous Gauda villages are in a sense of 'neutral' clan affiliation: that is, they may arrange marriages in their own village or with any Gauda clan without generally being accused of marrying within a prohibited degree. They thus form a kind of safety valve: the precedent of a marriage with one of these villages can be used to validate any other village's membership of a particular clan. This is possible because the six clans are not generally known by names now (though at least two of them still were in the last century): they are identified only by reciprocal terms meaning 'agnates' and 'affines' (or 'our clan' and 'another clan'). These special villages also act as a kind of reservoir of youths and girls eligible to *any* Gauda village needing spouses.

614 615 Though the vast majority of Gauda marriages are within this complicated system of clans and neutral villages, a number of permissible marriages have also been arranged with other phratries. Ha:ruvas marry into Gauda families, though now with decreasing frequency; the meat-eating Adikiris, a small clan, have no marriages outside the Gauda phratry to which they therefore belong in sense if not name.[16] A very recent development has been the marriage of a few Badaga Christian girls with Gauda boys, (581) usually those with college education. Christian girls enjoy a certain reputation among urbanizing Badagas for their comparatively high level of education and their 'freer' interaction with men. When a Christian girl marries a Gauda her patrilineal ancestry must still trace back to a clan other than her groom's.

262 264 615 Gaudas, like Badaga Christians, are usually meat-eaters. They are willing to eat in the houses of any other phratry but the Toreas and the Christians. Adikiris, Kanakkas and Wodeas offer Gaudas

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 villages, however, the Kurumba watchman has these duties.[19] It is recorded that in the nineteenth century they were also 'weaving a kind of sackcloth',[20] but today neither they nor anyone else can recall this activity.

(622) (623) Alone of all phratries the Toreas are under a slight disadvantage in the Badaga judicial system. In villages where other Badagas also live they may find that, while being permitted to bring cases to the village or commune council and to sit through its deliberations, they must not take part in the discussion that leads (622) up to the headman's decision. A Torea village headman who is excluded from a meeting of the commune council may not complain about such demeaning treatment in the way that any (169) other headman in the commune undoubtedly would. The depressed status of Toreas is symbolized by the fact that during the great memorial ceremonies for a deceased generation *(Manemale)* the Toreas have a separate, smaller catafalque beside the main one.

615 628 Many of the twenty-six Torea villages are adjuncts to Gauda villages, set off from them by a mere stone's throw; but a group of nine Torea villages on the eastern edge of the plateau are so isolated that their only close contact is with the Wodeas of De:na:du.

615 ● 614 621 Toreas have two clans, and in many villages both are represented. Despite the well-known precedents in other phratries, they have not begun to marry non-Toreas.

615 264 The Toreas can be offered vegetarian food in the houses of all higher phratries and meat in those which habitually eat it themselves. Recently some Gaudas have interdined with Toreas on an equal footing, in their inner rooms, although traditionally none of the other groups would allow Toreas into the inner, more sacred room; they were expected to eat in the outer one. 'If they should eat food with other Badagas, the Toreyas must clear away all remnants of the feast—nobody else will help' (Benbow, 1930, 11). No other phratry, not even the Christians, will accept food in the house of a Torea (Tignous, 1911, 117). In terms of the commensality rules pertaining elsewhere in India the Toreas may therefore have the appearance of a low or untouchable caste; and it is true that, Christians apart, they are the lowest of the Badaga phratries.

609 There is nevertheless a Badaga rule that 'foreigners' and plainsmen may not enter the inner room of any Badaga house: they may be offered food only on the veranda or in the outer room. Badaga

609 commensal rules, valid as much among Toreas as among higher phratries, have often come as a surprise to visiting Brahmins, who find themselves excluded from the more sacred room or from receiving food there. Badagas, even Toreas, do not recognize high ritual status when found outside the Nilgiri system. The plains Brahmins of course rationalize the rebuff by considering the Badagas as Śudras, through whom no Brahmin would pollute himself by accepting their often non-vegetarian food.[21]

HA:SANU:RU BADAGAS

361 The eight villages of this community, lying in the low Biligiri
621 Rangan Hills some forty kilometers northeast of the Nilgiris,
belong to eleven clans which are distinct from those of the plateau.
● 614 These clans form three phratries—Wodea, Gauda and Torea. A
615 clan of Ha:ruvas is within the Gauda phratry.

614 The two Wodea clans rank highest; they intermarry with each other, with Wodeas of the Nilgiris, and recently with the Wodea caste inhabiting villages near Sa:mara:jnagar (southern Mysore). Like other Wodeas those of Ha:sanu:ru are vegetarian and Lingayat. They allow the Ha:ruva clan to eat in the inner room of their houses, but for the past century since they began intermarriage with Mysore villages these Wodeas have stopped allowing other Badagas (who are non-vegetarian) to eat in their houses.

At the other end of the social hierarchy are two clans of Toreas, who intermarry chiefly with the two clans of Nilgiri Toreas, but also with neighbours of the opposite clan in Kottadai, their village near Ha:sanu:ru, and in some cases these Toreas have intermarried with the Torea caste found near Sa:mara:jnagar.

Between these two poles are four Ha:ruva families and about one hundred and fifteen Gauda families; (the Wodeas number about twenty five families, and Toreas twenty). The Ha:ruvas and Gaudas are divided into seven clans (see Diagram 7), generally identified by their place of origin in the Nilgiris. Members of each clan may intermarry with any of the other six clans, and also with Gaudas of the Nilgiris. However, because of their common origin, the Gaudas of Ku:kalu clan, for example, may not marry Gaudas from Ku:kalu village in the Nilgiris.

(615) There is a sort of hierarchy within this phratry, Ku:kalu clan and the Ha:ruvas ranking higher than the others. Ku:kalu

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

dominates because of its size, for it consists of some twenty-five families, as compared with the four families in each of the four smallest clans. It is the leader of Ku:kalu clan who settles most of the disputes in these eight villages, although each of them has its own headman. When neither he nor the family elders were able to resolve difficult disputes in the past, the headman of Ku:kalu commune in the northeastern Nilgiris was asked to adjudicate.

The eight villages contain a population of about 800 Badagas, as well as several hundred Iruḷa tribesmen. While no intermarriage occurs between the two groups, there have been stray cases of Badaga men keeping Iruḷa mistresses.

The comparable situation of a peripheral Badaga community living in the Wainad will be discussed below (see pp. 129–131).

NOTES

1. Grigg, 1880, 219. Their factual legends, devoid of supernatural elements, are in sharp contrast to the origin myths of such tribes as the Toda and the Santal; compare Rivers, 1906, 184, and Orans, 1965, 5.
2. Rivers, 1906, 36; Emeneau, 1937, 103, where the number of clans given for tōwḷḷy is incorrect; see also Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 125. On the priests who make sacrifice, see Rivers, 1906, 39–42, 71–72, 276–285, 354.
3. Srinivas, 1942, 32–38; Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 477. For the taboo on killing snakes, see Breeks, 1873, 104.
4. Diagram 7 roughly illustrates the hierarchy. A stranger to this community will hear claims of much higher ranking than the speakers would dare voice to members of other Badaga clans; here we will only present the most widely agreed-upon ranking. (The existence of a hierarchy does not *ipso facto* make this a caste society).
5. Ward, 1821, lxxi; Hough, 1829, 88. Their thread, unlike that of Brahmins, has only one strand.
6. Note, for example, the wives of Huċċi in Diagram 5. The Badaga kinship terminology is of the Dakota type (Hockings, in press).
7. heṇṇa du:ranta koḷḷu/danava sa:renta koḷḷu.
8. Jagor, 1876, 202; Francis 1908, 130–131. 'At a funeral the Badagas in general take off their turbans, but the Wodearu keep theirs on. Every Native, not even excepting the petty hill-chiefs [headmen], must bow down before them and pay them adoration'; Metz, 1864, 48–49. During the great memorial ceremony Wodeas are honoured with a bed on which they are invited to sit; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 14.
9. There have also been a few irregular marriages of Wodea girls to men living in Mysore State and the Kollegal Hills near Ha:sanu:ru; see below, pp. 216–217.
10. Grigg, 1880, 220; Francis, 1908, 130–131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 72–73. The name *Wodea* actually means 'owner, lord, master, ruler'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 45, n. 510.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

614 11. Ward, 1821, lxxi, Hough, 1829, 88; Metz, 1864, 54; Grigg, 1880, 221; Francis, 1908, 131. The claim was based on their membership in the Brahma sept.

000 12. Kittel, 1894, 1650, gives the Kannada *Hàruva* as meaning 'Brahmin'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 273, n. 3366, translate it as 'Brahmin' or 'seer'.

262 562 183 13. Benbow, 1930, 9. This claim is dubious, since the pollution of meat normally cannot be removed from a woman, only from a man.

14. Metz, 1864, 50–51, 63–64; see above, 21, 41. *Adikari*, meaning 'powerful man', was once used as the title of a village headman or magistrate appointed by the local chieftain, acting for the ruling power in Mysore.

614 15. Since about 1960 some of them have taken to wearing the *linga* again.

16. Most Badagas now consider these Adikiris as Gauda, as they do Be:das and Kumba:ras.

000 17. An art they are said to have taught the Kotas.

18. Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 176; see above, 32–33. The Toreas of Ha:sanu:ru now intermarry with those of Mysore.

615 19. See below, 123. Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 11, gives his gratuity at a funeral as 'a sum of Re. 1.25 along with ten measures of rice'.

20. Harkness, 1832, 109; Breeks, 1873, 14. It may be that these writers confused the Toreas with Kaikolans, however: twelve male and nine female Kaikolans were enumerated in Todana:du early in 1821; Grigg, 1880, 26. They were a low-status caste of weavers and musicians from Coimbatore, some of whose women were dedicated in a temple to the art of prostitution; Thurston, 1907, 29–30; 'Miles', 1951, 200–202.

609 21. Here a note about commensality with other non-Badagas. Wodeas and other Lingayats never allow a Nilgiri tribesman to enter beyond the veranda; neither may any non-Lingayat visitor from the plains enter. Ha:ruvas and all lower phratries permit Todas and until recently Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasuvas to eat in the outer room. Kotas and any lowlander thought to be a Hindu untouchable are too polluting to be allowed past the veranda.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

177 report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

000 12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32; Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

177 13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

177 14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda
● 614 priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

565 15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry:
622 families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come; see above, Diagram 6.

000 16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with the *palol*!

439 17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into
778 clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

000 18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *palol's* cloth was woven by the Toreas of Jakkanc:ri; near Kotagiri; see Macleane, 1893, 905.

19. *U:r Kuruba;* Breeks, 1873, 53-54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

186 20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far as the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

000 21. Harkness, 1832, 84-85; Metz, 1864, 116-117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86, and 1912, 232-233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

177 23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by
621 each Badaga family; see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness, 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15-37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from
795 Todas, but none from Kotas; Macleane, 1893, 222.

795 25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

595 26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a bridewealth of a
583 hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage
586 between So:lu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

586 27. Ranga, 1934, 55-59; Noble, 1968, 174-175. This relationship was ended by
648 Government action in 1976.

657 28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20-22; *panya* is also a section of the Yerava tribe in Coorg.

000 [p. 134 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

578 621 factions. Members of one were paying supposedly secret visits at the back doors of friends in the opposite faction: but everybody knew what was really going on. Already it was acceptable behaviour to talk to members of the other faction on the street, so long as no interdining occurred. The break-up of the factional organization was spear-headed by women from other villages who had married into this one. In a number of instances there were pairs of sisters from another village who were married to men of opposite factions. In such cases the sisters felt seriously inconvenienced in being separated by a dispute which did not really concern them; and they took every opportunity to meet secretly and interact with each other across the cleavage that was currently separating their husbands. Nobody in the village really expected the factions to become more rigid: slowly but surely these kinship ties were bringing the two sides together.

578 By comparison with such frequent and short-term factional disputes as this example, the all-Nilgiri factions are few but long-lived. Altogether only a half-dozen of these are known, only two of them antedating this century.

The first major factionalism we know of, and certainly the most important if judged by its effects, was that engendered by the conversions that split the community into Christians and Hindus.

578 ● 614 The second major dispute in Badaga history emerged in 1897 and, like the first, is still the basis for a factional cleavage today. Whether this dispute was triggered by the tensions which mission activity and other trials of that period generated is nowhere clearly indicated in our sources. Initially it was only a dispute over which Ha:ruvas should first walk on the fire during their annual festival for the god Mahalinga at Me:lu:ru—those of Maṇihaṭṭi or those of Taṅga:ḍu.[17] (By 1897 both these villages had mission schools, but Taṅga:ḍu, though ritually inferior, was much wealthier than Maṇihaṭṭi). The dispute grew, and the entire Ha:ruva clan consolidated to claim superiority in status over the Wodeas and all other groups. The Ha:ruvas and certain other Badagas who support them—pre-eminently in Gauda villages of Kundena:ḍu division—believe the Ha:ruvas were of the high Brahmin *varna* before they left Mysore to settle in the Nilgiris. In support of this belief they cite the facts that they belong to the Brahma sept, they have always been priests for the non-vegetarian Badagas, they are strict vegetarians themselves and they wear a thread across the

shoulder. Opponents of the Ha:ruva claim include the majority of Badagas. They perhaps recognize that the Ha:ruvas have no knowledge of Sanskrit or any other sacred literature—since until the present century they were all illiterate; furthermore there is no ceremony for investiture of the 'sacred' thread and no concept of being 'twice-born'. But the argument most generally used against the Ha:ruvas' claim is that they are only priests in Badaga temples (including the one at Me:lu:ru) because the various non-vegetarian phratries appointed them to act in this role; just as they appointed certain Todas, Kurumbas and Toreas to act in special economic and social roles for the benefit of the entire village. Gaudas commonly assert the Ha:ruvas are equal in status with the Gaudas, amongst whom they find spouses.

Although it is the Wodeas whom the Ha:ruvas contest for ritual superiority, there has been no open clash between Ha:ruvas and Wodeas. This is not too surprising, considering that Wodeas are Lingayat while Ha:ruvas are not; Wodeas never employ Ha:ruva priests; Wodeas do not intermarry with Ha:ruvas at all and do not live near those who triggered the dispute; and thus Wodea/Ha:ruva interaction has always been minimal.

The main clash in this dispute has been between Ha:ruvas and most of the lower-status Gauda phratry, who resent the Ha:ruvas' claim. Only a minority of Gaudas support the Ha:ruvas; the remaining villages have not only denounced Ha:ruva pretensions but some decades ago broke off their ceremonial relations with them. In most Gauda villages the Ha:ruva priests were supplanted in their duties by non-Ha:ruva members of the village; Gauda marriages with Ha:ruva men and women ceased, and already married couples were sometimes peremptorily divorced by the village headman; interdining with Ha:ruvas was stopped; and occasional fights would break out, particularly at festivals when the customary Ha:ruva priests tried to perform their ritual duties and members of the anti-Ha:ruva faction tried to stop them.

The Ha:ruva dispute has never been resolved. In the earlier decades of its history it was marked by the usual fights, lack of intermarriage or interdining between disputants and even by resort to the British Indian legal system. (A case against Ha:ruvas was carried, I am told, as far as the Privy Council.) Recently the dispute has cooled to the point where it only becomes relevant in the arrangement of marriages. This also seems to be the present case with the conflict between Hindu and Christian Badagas. In

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

either instance marriages now sometimes occur across the cleavage.

In summary we can say that Badaga factions arise from and give expression to a situation of stress in the community. However, only one of the half-dozen important factional disputes arose directly from the stressful experience of evangelization.

The Cult of Irabattaraya

So far I have described many types of reaction to evangelization and certain calamities without encountering any movement that meets Wallace's (1966, 158–163) criteria for a successful revitalization of a culture. Let us now review what little is known about the cult of the Wodeas' god Irabattaraya (Virabadraya), since this was a kind of eschatological movement.

> A rumour was spread that the God Irabattaraya, born of a white elephant, would come up to the hills within some months bringing to each [Badaga] a true Linga, & consuming Mr. Metz with the breath of his mouth. Even the Todas, ignorant as they are of Vishnoo & Shiva, accepted the mark of Shiva on their foreheads, that they also might be acknowledged by the God as his followers when he would appear. This excited such a sensation among the people, that for some time the proscribed Missionary had the utmost difficulty to get a hearing. But the appointed term elapsed & the god did not make his appearance. At last the news was spread, that Irabattaraya was in Satyamangalam, a town at the bottom of the mountains, performing the same wonders, as Mr. Metz was in the habit of relating of Jesus Christ. Multitudes of sick people, dressed in white, descended the mountain, but came back uncured & disappointed; and after a few weeks the god had disappeared. The impostor appears to have been a Mohammedan juggler. But the people were not yet satisfied. An embassy consisting of 20 men was dispatched on a 5 days' journey into Mysore to ask the old god of the Badagas when he would come up? This frenzy has now passed away. . . .(B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70–71).

The cult, which flared up briefly in 1865, contains features of both the Christian and Hindu religions. In this regard it is worth

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

346 794 12. B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70-71; Stokes, 1882, 174; Sawday, 1884, 12-13; Francis, 1908, 130; Tignous, 1911, 116. To meet the cost four rupees were levied from each household. Prior to this time Badaga temples had been round thatched structures; compare Breeks, 1873, pl. LXXV, and B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68, plate.

000 13. There are many comparable anecdotes in the presbytery minutes and the various mission periodicals.

186 177 14. Schad, 1908, 134; Butterworth, 1923, 208. Since fresh skeletons were supposedly collected each Christmas, Badagas would only walk around in groups after dusk during November and December, for fear of European headhunters.

648 15. Breeks, 1873, 65; Grigg, 1880, 299, 411; Stokes, 1883, *passim*; Francis, 1908, 155; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86; Tignous, 1911, 155; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 50. I have been told of a much more recent instance (not well substantiated, however) in which Badagas burnt down a Kurumba hamlet near Mañjakombe because of the excessive demands for food that a Kurumba watchman had been making.

000 16. *kaći*, or in one dialect *kaci*; see Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 79 for cognates.

518 614 17. Wieland, 1900, 86. The Maṇihaṭṭi priests thought themselves superior as their service was done inside the temple while the Taṅga:ḍu priests remained in the outer precincts. The Taṅga:ḍu Ha:ruvas, who by then included several contractors and were distinctly wealthier than Maṇihaṭṭi people, held that fire-walkers should proceed in order of seniority; and in 1897 the senior-most candidate was an old man from Taṅga:ḍu. After that the festival was celebrated by the two villages on alternate years; see Francis, 1908, 340, and Jogi Gowder, no date, 3-5. In a few years the rift had widened, apparently over a marriage quarrel. A Ha:ruva from Maṇihaṭṭi had asked for the sister's daughter of a Gauda headman. The latter arranged her divorce, and she married the Ha:ruva. He, however had, agreed to pay six rupees worth of finger millet for the divorce but never did, precipitating a long court case and a rift between Ha:ruvas and Gaudas. About 1940 the Gaudas of Me:lu:ru successfully wrested the fire-walking ceremony from the now reunited Ha:ruvas of Maṇihaṭṭi, Taṅga:ḍu and two other villages, causing the latter to celebrate the festival on alternating years at two of their villages, but never more at Me:lu:ru. In effect these Gaudas refuse to acknowledge the ritual superiority of the Ha:ruvas with whom they used to intermarry, and also have won themselves legal recognition as owners of a temple which had previously employed Ha:ruva priests.

799 18. The London Missionary Society maintained a catechist there in the late nineteenth century, yet by 1891 there were only twenty-eight Christians in a population of 3574; Nicholson, 1898, 424-425.

000 19. The process of revitalization, though of concern to Max Weber (1946, 1947), was first clarified and labelled by Wallace, 1956, *passim*, and 1966, 158-163; compare Fuchs, 1965, 1-20.

871 20. Anonymous, 1887, 122. 'The increasing prosperity of the Badagas is unquestionably inclining them to seek instruction for their children'; Grigg, 1880, 426.

000 21. Fuchs, 1965, 1. He presents many examples of such movements from all over India.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

intra-commune or intra-village factional disputes of which no record exists; small inter-family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional divisions of Nilgiri-wide scope, one separating Hindus from Christians, and one disputing the relative superiority of Wodeas and Ha:ruvas (see above, pp. 203–204). During the twentieth century these divisions have remained and others have developed alongside them.

The Wodea/Ha:ruva dispute was intensified by another conflict in 1930 which quickly assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions (Benbow, 1930, 11, 13). It concerned the question of whether it was dignified to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral (see Plate 8; Mandelbaum, 1960, 302–303). Those who supported the Ha:ruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music; those opposed to the Ha:ruva faction and to the use of Ha:ruva priests were equally opposed to this music. The latter, who formed the majority faction, felt that such music was an indignity to both mourners and Kotas, and that dancing was an indignity to the dead since it was an expression of joy and therefore inappropriate, un-Hindu, and 'uncivilized' in this context. Those who wanted to continue the dancing, a conservative minority, stressed that it had been an integral and time-honoured element in Badaga culture and that to discontinue it would be to dishonour and even jeopardize the deceased with an incomplete funeral. The new-found opposition to what had always been an essential part of mortuary ritual arose indirectly from contact with Tamilian culture and a consequent shift in Badaga cultural orientations, and found its leaders in the first Badaga M.L.C. and his father. Today most Badagas no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their economic connections have also been severed in an attempt to increase the social distance between themselves and their more backward and polluting Kota neighbours (Emeneau, 1938, 104–105; Mandelbaum, 1960, 302–303). In dropping the practice of dancing at funerals while adopting anniversary ceremonies for the dead and such festivals as Ma:rgaźi, Ka:rttige and Di:pa:vali, many Badagas are now striving for upward mobility by taking the model and assuming the conduct of orthodox Shaivite Hindus. The younger Kotas meanwhile show no interest in playing funeral music or otherwise underpinning the old Badaga culture. They, too, have their handful of graduates and well-to-do families who are looking for a better style of life than that they used to know.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Another factional dispute that lasted for nearly a quarter-century prior to Indian Independence was a political one: political behaviour during that time took the form of a factional division. Many villages were not at all concerned with political matters, but the more informed ones—with higher literacy and closer links to the towns or missions—tended to be aligned either with the Indian National Congress and the Independence movement or with the Justice Party and a reliance on the British administration of India. The most aggressive phase in this factional history, when most villages became involved, was from Gandhi's salt *satyagraha* in 1930 up to the outbreak of war in 1939. The two factions would not eat together or talk to each other, would sometimes maintain different headmen and celebrate separate festivals, forbade inter-marriage across the cleavage, and occasionally gave vent to outbreaks of violent fighting.

Just as the dispute over use of Kota music reinforced an existing factional division over the status of Ha:ruvas, so this political dispute became yet another facet of the same old quarrel: those who supported the Ha:ruva claim also supported the Indian National Congress. The reason for this is quite clear: in Madras Presidency the Justice Party was an anti-Brahmin party; its support depended largely on opposition to the apparent preponderance of Brahmins in the Congress and to the ease with which the Brahmin minority was getting the lion's share of government employment, to the envy of many non-Brahmins.[6] In the Nilgiris the dispute over Ha:ruva superiority was thus able to assume a political colouring, those opposed to Brahmins in general and *ipso facto* to the Ha:ruvas' claim being in support of the Justice Party.

Before the Kota music factions and this political division arose, a factional feud had split the Lingayats but did not involve other Badagas at all. It was triggered by intermarriage with Kanarese Lingayat girls, the first case of which occurred in an Adikiri family around 1890. Those who favoured marriage with Mysorean girls felt that it might raise their status to have connexions with the City of Mysore and its *Umland*, particularly as this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of Virashaivism, where the Badaga bridegrooms would receive the blessing *(ubadeś)* of a high-status *guru*; a dowry could also be asked of a Mysorean family. Most of these Badagas knew that the Lord Basava himself had taught that all men and women are equal, that caste distinctions and endogamy are social evils and not

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

together. People wear shoes to church if they want to, while some ministers have judiciously refrained from doing so despite the cold stone floors.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way split developed between converts coming from the Gauda, Kumba:ra and Be:da phratries. Each claimed they were socially superior to the other two categories. In this village little intermarriage now occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Be:das and ex-Kumba:ras. They normally interdine but refuse to do so during holy festivals. They have no objection however to attending the same church service together. Somewhat similar retrospective factions appeared in the past between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants in the Roman Catholic community of Badagas, and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Société des missions-étrangères, 1928, vol. VII, 573; Périé, 1933, 100).

We thus find that factional divisions are a deep-seated feature of Badaga social organization. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go off to a distant university cleavages still occur among them which are marked by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction. One is tempted to see in this an urge for a periodic reorganization of the society.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

From the start of the century, the Christian community has been recognized by Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns of interaction have been formalized. During the period 1900–1947 the Hindus, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on an economy and a labour market that ultimately was controlled by the British. As a result partly of this, partly of assigning the Christians to a separate caste status, the acts of violence towards Badaga Christians came to an end. As many Hindu Badagas now found it lucrative to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British they could not at the same time be openly hostile to the religion of the British.

After the Christians became a separate phratry (made up of twelve clans; see Diagram 7, p. 76), and the moment the German Lutheran missionaries were expelled from India in 1914. French

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 groups, called phratries. These are like subcastes, except that they have no form of occupational specialization and members are often permitted to marry outside their own phratry. In this hierarchy the conservative Woḍeya group is at the highest level and the Toreyas, servants of the headmen, are the lowest. Between these two there are one phratry of vegetarians and five others of meat-eaters. The Chris- [797] tian Badagas, the first of whom was converted in 1858, belong to a separate meat-eating phratry which, although ranked below the lowest Hindu group, is respected for its progressive habits. Each of 615 these phratries is made up of several clans which are exogamous, 614 and every Badaga village belongs to one of these clans. There are no "multi-caste" villages. In effect this means that a man must marry a girl from another village, and she will come to live with his clan.

582 Although cross-cousin marriage is the norm, many of the Badaga rules of marriage differ from those which usually govern the South Indian Hindu. Most remarkably, marriage is allowed between [614] members of clans which have a different ranking, and it is of little concern whether the man is of a lower or higher clan than his wife. 595 A man may have more than one wife — in one case as many as five 586 simultaneously. Divorce and remarriage are easy and quite accept- 589 able in the community. Even widows can remarry without prejudice or criticism. It has recently become common for a dowry to be paid 583 by the bride's family on her marriage; but the traditional custom is for the husband to pay bridewealth. This sum, nowadays 200 rupees, does not purchase the bride, but covers the ornaments she brings with her to the wedding.

582 Certain marital relationships are more favoured than others. Marriage for the Badagas is ideally between cross-cousins and a man should, if possible, marry either his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter. But other relatives are permissible, provided they belong to the appropriate clan. A man may marry a girl far younger than himself, one of a different generation-level; and although throughout his life he can only belong to the generation he was born into, a woman changes hers according to her current [595] husband's position. It is even possible for a man to marry a woman and her daughter (provided she is not *his* daughter) and her granddaughter. All three wives are then considered as belonging to the same generation.

619 An important feature of this community, from the point of view

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

241 318 (134) (137) shifting their cultivation from year to year to new patches of land, grass has been prevented from getting any firm hold on the denuded hill-sides. Only on the slopes of the plateau (which are too steep for cultivation) and in a few isolated Government reserves, does the forest flourish in its virgin beauty.

West of Dodabetta, however, the Badagas are more rare; hardly a field or a village (except the little clusters of huts belonging to the pastoral Todas) is to be seen. (Francis 1908: 3-4)

121 Let us then see how, against this backdrop, several hundred Badaga therapists have over the centuries developed a unique medical adaptation to a unique tropical montane environment.

Badaga Medical History

1.5. The history of health care among the Badagas is entirely speculative. Nonetheless the history of the community itself is clear enough, and on this framework (Hockings 1979a) we can at least postulate three phases in the development of Badaga therapy (1.5-1.8). This sketch may later prove inadequate, for it is largely guesswork, but heuristically necessary for our understanding of problems connected with the elaboration of a specifically Badaga montane curative system from its roots in a very different equatorial environment at a much lower elevation.

175 (166) The first phase began after the year 1565 with the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire. It was this political act and the associated Muslim invasion that impelled the initial Badaga refugees to leave the plains of Mysore District and settle on the much higher Nilgiri Massif immediately to the south. These people were a mere fortuitous selection of one or two hundred from those who made up the vast genetic pools of the Mysore castes; but after settling on the hills their patterns of intermarriage were such that they became more like another isolate. Despite a preference for endogamy, though, their pool was repeatedly augmented by the arrival of occasional new settlers from the Mysore Plains who were accepted into the growing Badaga community.

175 614 756 A century or so after these first settlers arrived, some refugees forming the Kaṇakka clan also came to the Nilgiris. Their special importance lay in the fact that until the mid-nineteenth century the Kaṇakkas were the only Badagas who were somewhat literate. As

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

one aspect of their presumed "familiarity with learning," if we may call it that, they gained a reputation as exorcists and curers. Today some among the couple of thousand Kaṇakkas still practise these crafts, although they no longer hold a monopoly among the Badagas. (My chief medical informant, K. Sithamma, was born in a Kaṇakka family in 1891.)

1.6. During the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries the Badaga community increased from a reported three villages in 1603 to nearly 370 villages a century ago. This expansion, marking the second phase, encompassed some developments of importance to the history of Badaga therapy. The community was faced with the problem of adapting to a new geographic and social environment, and clearly succeeded in doing so. We may presume that natural selection helped the population build up a genetic resistance to whatever montane illnesses had not previously affected the people when they were living in Mysore; and that some lowland disease organisms were no longer able to survive at the new elevation, either because it was too high and cold for their animal hosts, or else because the hosts among the scattered and tiny human population died off without transferring these organisms to new hosts, or more probably because when the density of population was very low infection by particular diseases summoned forth antibodies or other disease-resistant aptitudes, which protected their descendants from any further infection by those diseases. As the settlements expanded the increasing numbers of people permitted greater transference of disease organisms and called for greater amounts of health care; but at the same time these settlements, located in most parts of the Nilgiri Massif within a zone that lay between 4000 and 7300 feet of elevation, gave people opportunities to select the more healthy residential sites, to explore the micro-environmental differences in the area, and most importantly to discover medicinal uses for dozens of new species of plants that were in many instances confined to the Massif (see Trilingual Index). We may presume that the pharmacological uses of local plants were discovered by Badaga women who worked as goatherds and men working as cowherds, by closely observing the feeding habits of their animals. Geza Roheim has made a similar observation on the control that Australian Aboriginal women have over the medicinal use of plants which they are responsible for gathering. While it is true that Badagas did not keep

121 ween any Badaga hamlet and its nearest Kota village. Such facts as these show that Badaga social organization is unlike the usual jati system in Indian rural areas. We have already made the point that Badaga society occupies a midway position along a caste/tribal continuum (cf. p. 28). It is thus not surprising to find that, while there is a caste-like hierarchy, Badagas practice marriages which, if they were to occur between ranked jatis, could not only be called hypergamous but also hypogamous. The irrelevance of the hierarchy in the arrangement of marriages marks the Badaga practice off from that of caste societies.

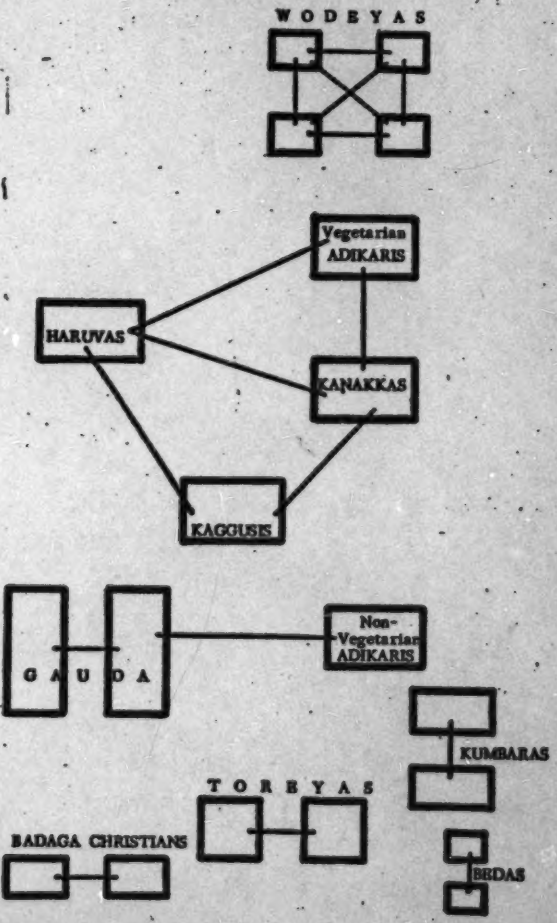
Using anthropological terminology, how then can we describe Badaga society less ambiguously? (In the pages that follow the term lineage denotes a group of consanguineal kinsfolk who affirm a bond of unilineal kinship traceable genealogically, in the Badaga case, for about seven patrilineal generations. A sib, i.e. a patrilineal clan, consists of a number of such lineages, and is a unilinear kin group in which the actual descent from a common male ancestor can only be presumed. A phratry is a grouping of two or more sibs whose members assume a common bond of kinship, which they support with a story of their common origin; and although in many societies a phratry is exogamous, we must use the term more loosely in the Badaga case to apply to a group that is typically endogamous but in certain cases permits exogamy.)

•614 The Badaga community is made up of 17 exogamous sibs sharing a common culture and territory. (Before 1913 two more sibs of Badaga Christians had been

128 added to this number.) The situation which now exists among intermarrying sibs is a very complex one, and requires a clarifying diagram (p. 46) as well as a long description. Each rectangle in the diagram represents one sib, and thin lines link the intermarrying sibs. Before presenting a detailed account of these units, we

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 471

DIAGRAM III: THE BADAGA SIBS



128 will discuss the general principles by which Badagas regulate marriage.

The Regulation of Marriage

615 (614) The sibs are grouped into six phratries: in most cases the phratries bear names but the sibs do not. The Badagas, who have an extensive oral history embodied in their folksongs, can still recall the origins of these phratries as historically distinct settlements of various small immigrant groups. The founders of the various phratries had different places of origin in the Mysore Plains, or took different routes up into the Nilgiris, or came at different periods. The first villages that were founded by each ancestral group are still inhabited by that phratry today. The phratries are ranked into a hierarchy about which there is considerable disagreement. Each phratry is to a large extent endogamous, in one case entirely so; and all but two consist of two sibs each. As can be seen from the diagram, the exceptions to this statement are two groups with four sibs in each case: first, the Wodeyas; and secondly, the Haruvas, Kaggusis and two Lingayat sibs, who together form an unnamed phratry. The Toreyas are the only phratry that is now completely endogamous.

Most Badagas, of whatever sib or phratry, agree that the two Toreya sibs are lowest and that the four Wodeya sibs have the highest rank in the entire community. Although the great majority of Badagas are not Lingayats, they cite the purity of a Wodeya's vegetarian diet and the orthodoxy of his Lingayat observances as the factors which support his high rank; many also consider that the priority of his ancestors' arrival in the Nilgiris places him above the other two Lingayat sibs. The only people who typically accord the Haruvas a rank higher than the Wodeyas are the minority who are supporters of a pro-Haruva faction to be discussed later.

615 Nobody, on the other hand, disputes with the Toreyas for the lowest position in the hierarchy of Hindu Badagas; not even the Kotas have attempted this -- and they are lower still.

121 It is a characteristic of jati hierarchies in almost every part of India that there are differences of opinion about the exact ranking of any particular jati. A cursory view of the welter of data available for different regions of India also strongly suggests that there is perhaps more widespread agreement in any community about the rank of the jatis that are highest or lowest in a local hierarchy than about the exact position of all or some of those in intermediate positions. It is a statement that is also true in broad outline for the Badagas; but it does not really explain anything. The similarity of the grosser features of the Badaga hierarchy -- such as it is -- to hierarchies found in most Hindu villages in no way helps clarify the complexity of what among Badagas corresponds to the "middle jatis" in those Hindu •(614) villages. For the sibs inferior to Wodeyas and superior to Toreyas can in general intermarry either hypergamously or hypogamously: that is, sib ranking is formally irrelevant in the arrangement of marriages.

614 Two kinds of explanation can be offered for this feature. The less likely one is a historical explanation, for which there is some slight evidence. It is that the Badagas only thought of ranking their sibs into an all-Badaga hierarchy during the last century, after there had been some contact with laborers and Brahmins from villages in the plains. Such an argument would imply that the indigenous marriage system has been retained, but that a new ranking system for the various endogamous units was superimposed as one aspect of a process generally called 115 Sanskritization (cf. Srinivas 1962). The earliest detailed accounts of the Badagas 614 make it clear, however, that even in the early part of the 19th Century there was

already some kind of a status hierarchy amongst the various sibs, although it was possibly "looser" than it is in the present century (Harkness 1832: 112). These accounts also show a difference of opinion as to whether the Haruvas or the Wodeyas were the highest group. Hough, in a letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru newspaper in November 1826, said of the Haruvas: "The first class wear the Brahminy thread, and are reverenced as the Neilgherry Brahmins." Thus the Haruva claim to superiority was already in the wind (Hough 1829: 88; cf. Ward 1821: lxxi). In 1830 Harkness found that

> ...the dissimilitude among most of these classes is too trifling to be worthy of remark. The least respected among them are a class [Toreyas] who, as well as being cultivators of the earth, also manufacture a coarse kind of sackcloth; other two of the classes are of the caste who wear the lingam, one [Wodeys] being superior, and qualified to officiate as priests to the whole of the others [Adikaris and Kapakkas] ; and another of the classes [Haruvas] are repudiated Brahmans. These, however, still wear the sacrificial string, and retain some privileges in the performance of their worship, but they are classed with the other people, and are without any pretensions to superiority over them. (Harkness 1832: 30-31)

The second kind of explanation for the lack of concern about status congruence when arranging marriages is a structural one, for which there is considerable evidence. It is that the social status of any female is determined entirely by the village in which she lives. Girls before puberty, like small boys, are regarded as pure, and for many purposes are treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular set of parents. Thus small girls can enter sacred places where no woman would be allowed. But once a girl has menstruated, and preferably before that, she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and her status is determined only by the sib and the affluence of that family, never by the status of her own father. The same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where generation level is an important feature in determining relationships. The

582 between the bride and her husband's mother, who is of course her father's sister
(Benbow 1928: 20). Badagas expect that a bride who is father's sister's daughter
(581) to her husband will be more timid and easier to control than one who is the
(578) mother's brother's daughter. At the root of this preference lies a conflict of roles: there is a very real problem for a Badaga if his wife's father is also his own mother's brother, since these are two very different roles. One entails giving his daughter to a young man, and receiving a sum of money "in return"; the other entails acting as the young man's spiritual guide. Most Badagas feel that there is a certain ambiguity involved if a single individual, vis-à-vis his sister's son, has both of these roles at once. It is quite common for Badagas to marry more distant relatives who are only "mother's brother's daughter" or "father's sister's daughter" in a classificatory sense, however, in which case the ambiguous situation we have described and the conflict that it might generate can both be avoided.

The Phratries

615 The most deep-seated -- and certainly the oldest -- divisions in the Badaga community are those between the phratries. Each phratry is said to have a distinct historical origin, and remains a distinguishable social entity today for
• 614 purposes of arranging marriages and celebrating certain rituals. The sibs perhaps come closer than the phratries to being corporate groups in most cases: each
(621) hamlet is typically the home of members of one sib only. In the few cases where families from another sib are also present, they are recognized as being fairly
121 recent immigrants, and their "native" hamlet is known to all. In view of the central importance of the sib structure to an understanding of Badaga social organization, we will now present in some detail an account of the features which distinguish
128 each phratry and its constituent sibs. These will be treated in the order that many

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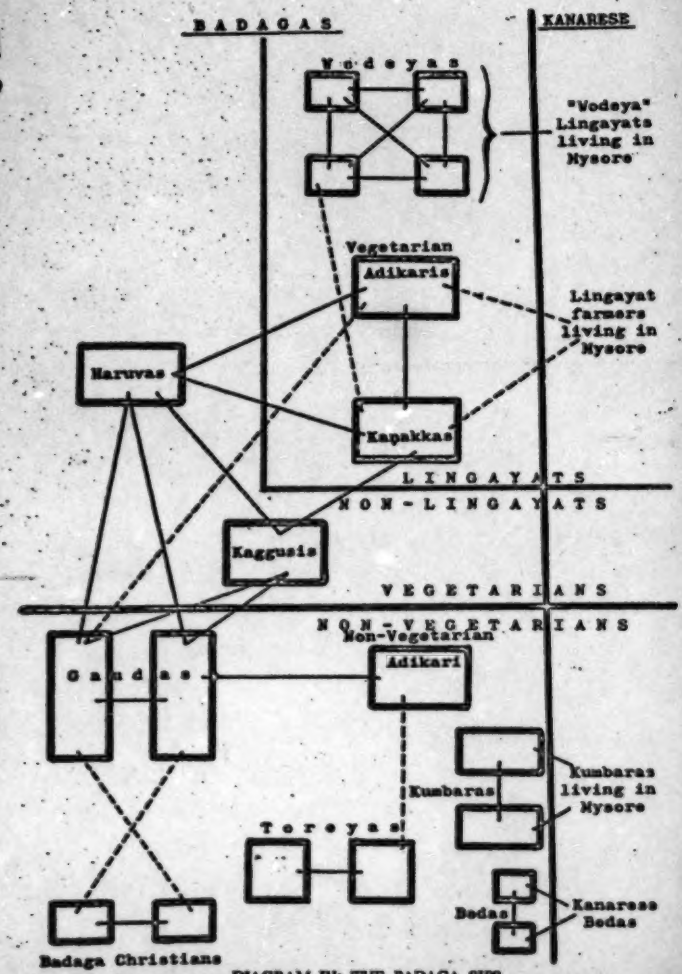

DIAGRAM IV: THE BADAGA SIBS

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615 Wodeyas will not accept food from the Haruvas or any socially lower phratry, although they will eat in any other Wodeya house (Grigg 1880: 220). Other Badaga phratries accept food -- which is always vegetarian -- in the outer room of a Wodeya house. Members of any of the other Nilgiri tribes will accept vegetarian food from the Wodeyas too; but they are not allowed to pass beyond the veranda into the home.

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[162] The Haruvas are a small sib living in only four hamlets. Like the Wodeyas, they probably number about 3000 people. This does not mean that Haruva hamlets are unusually large, for it is very common for a single Haruva family to live permanently in a Gauda hamlet: perhaps two thousand of the Haruvas are so
(793) distributed. This is because Haruvas customarily act as priests in the Gauda
•C614] temples (Benbow 1928: 7-9). Haruvas, Kapakkas, Adikaris and Kaggusis are the four exogamous sibs which make up their phratry -- the only unnamed one, incidentally. But of the four sibs just mentioned, Haruvas alone have challenged the Wodeyas for prime position in the Badaga social hierarchy. The ramifications of their claim will receive further attention when we discuss Badaga factions.

614 The Haruvas are Śaivites, but not Lingayats. For over a century at least they have been claiming that they were originally Brahmins before they ever left Mysore for the Nilgiris, and that they should therefore now be treated as such (Francis 1908: 131). Little of their behavior accords with the orthodoxy of true
(793) Brahmins in the villages of the plains, however. The three indicators in support of their Brahminhood are the indubitable facts that they are vegetarians, they wear a thread across one shoulder, and they do very frequently act as temple priests to the great majority of Śaivite Badagas.

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> It has been suggested that the Hāruvas (jumper) derive their name from the fire-walking ceremony, which they perform periodically. A further, and more probable suggestion has been made to me that Hāruva comes from a Canarese word meaning to beg or pray; hence one who begs or prays, and so a Brāhman. The Canarese Basava Purāna frequently uses the word in [this] sense. (Thurston 1909: I, 73)

It should be noted that firewalking is in no way the prerogative of the Haruvas; all non-Lingayat Badaga sibs can perform the act; and all, I was assured, can jump rather than walk across the glowing charcoal if they so choose. For what the information is worth, we might add that Kittel's Dictionary (1894: 1650) gives the Kanarese word Hāruva as meaning "Brahman"; and Burrow & Emeneau show that the word is the Kannada cognate of a common Dravidian word meaning "Brahman" or "seer" (1961: 273). Despite these arguments, the subculture of the Badaga Haruvas is an extremely atypical one for Brahmins: they have no ceremony for investiture of the sacred thread, and do not recognize themselves as being "twice-born"; they were until this century totally illiterate in Sanskrit or any other language; and they are completely exogamous. Haruvas are in fact like any other Badaga sib on matters of marriage: there is little apparent congruence between the status a family occupies and the status of families with which it has marriage connections. Haruvas marry spouses of both sexes from either the Adikari or the Kapakka sib. In either case the marriage is thus between a Śaivite vegetarian and a Lingayat vegetarian. (Lingayatism of course derives from Śaivism, but the two religious systems and their personnel are now quite distinct.) While these are the commonest marriages for Haruvas, it is also permissible for Haruva men or women to marry members of the Kaggusi sib, which is a vegetarian Śaivite group supposedly broken away from the main body of Gaudas a few generations ago. Perhaps the most surprising pattern of marriage permitted to Haruvas is that with men or women of either of the Gauda sibs (Metz 1864: 56). These are Śaivites too,

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582 but are not vegetarians. In most parts of India anyone claiming to be a Brahmin
614 and practicing vegetarianism would consider it a great dishonor to take a wife from -- or worse still, to marry his daughter into -- a family of meat-eaters generally acknowledged to hold lower status in the social hierarchy. It is true that marriage between Gaudas and Haruvas is not very common; but the reason lies not in any abhorrence of the idea on the part of the Haruvas, but largely in the inconvenience such a marriage causes a meat-eating family who find themselves obliged to prepare only vegetarian dishes, and in separate vessels, whenever a Haruva affine (581) is visiting them. When a Haruva man marries a Gauda girl, it is usually because (583) he owns little or no land; in such a marriage the bride's father is likely to give the (591) Haruva land in that Gauda hamlet and encourage the couple to settle down there. Such a procedure commonly occurs when the bride's father has no son of his own; but even if he has sons they may be agreeable to the arrangement when land is available. This is the only situation in which Badagas practice uxorilocal residence.

262 Despite the general rule among Badagas that a woman assumes the status
562 and joins the sib of her husband's family, marriage between vegetarian Haruvas
614 and non-vegetarian Gaudas does not mean that the wife has to assume her husband's dietary habits. If a Haruva girl marries a Gauda, then no meat is ever cooked in his house and the wife remains a vegetarian. If her husband wants to eat meat, he will perhaps arrange to have some cooked elsewhere and eat it outside his own home. The children of this union are fully Gaudas, however, and will normally be non-vegetarians. Once the Haruva woman has died her husband's household normal- (783) ly revert to a non-vegetarian diet. It has been reported that, "If a Badaga [i.e. Gauda] woman marries a Haruva she has to give up meat-eating and, to cleanse (753) her, a red hot iron is put to her tongue" (Benbow 1928: 9). "After this she would

not dare to eat meat because of the superstitious belief that she would lose her eyesight" (Karl 1945: 3). From this we can see that a woman who marries into a Haruva family is expected to accept its dietary norms, whereas a Haruva girl marrying into a socially lower sib is not expected to accept its dietary norms (Tignous 1911: 117). If a Haruva girl marries into an Adikari or Kapakka family there will be no change in her diet; but she will be expected to wear the lingam if it is given her, and to behave as a Lingayat. When a Haruva marries a Lingayat girl he continues to wear his thread but she usually continues to wear the lingam (if one has already been given her).

Haruvas are willing to accept food in the inner (more sacred) room of any other Badaga sib except the Toreyas. They would not demean themselves to enter a Toreya house; and they would probably be offered food only in the outer room of a Wodeya house. Wodeyas never accept food in a Haruva house, as they believe Haruvas to be inferior; but the other Lingayat sibs both eat in the inner room of a Haruva house. Even meat-eating Adikaris, who are not Lingayats, are offered vegetarian food in a Haruva's inner room. The same holds true for visiting Kaggusis and Gaudas; people who might often have occasion to visit a Haruva household if they are related to it by marriage. Haruvas also allow Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasubas to eat in the outer (less sacred) room of the house, but Kotas are considered too polluting to pass beyond the entrance.

The vegetarian Adikaris are a Lingayat sib, numbering perhaps 3500 people, who inhabit sixteen hamlets scattered across the plateau. The sib should only intermarry with Haruvas or Kapakkas; but in the past 30 years a few have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. Rarely will a girl from the Nilgiris go to Mysore to marry, on the other hand. There have also been a few

614 (582) cases of vegetarian Adikaris marrying meat-eating Gaudas.

The word Adikari means "powerful man", and was once used as the title of a village headman appointed by some local prince. Whether any ruler was ever effectively in control of the Nilgiris before the advent of the British is uncertain; but Adikaris like to claim they were appointed as officials of a ruler who came up from Mysore.

614 619 527 (621) The Adikari hamlets probably have closer social cohesion than any of the other Badaga sibs (except for the two tiny phratries called Kumbaras and Bedas). This solidarity stems from the fact that Adikaris, alone among all the 17 sibs, hold an annual "reunion". Every November they go to the village of Nellitorai, on the Coimbatore Plain near Mettupalaiyam, to worship at the place where a Lingayat saint was drowned some centuries back. It was from this spot that the original five Adikaris are supposed to have started up into the Nilgiri Hills, after having journeyed to this place from northern Mysore (Metz 1864: 50-51). It is now obligatory for at least a few men from each Adikari hamlet to attend this function each year; and members of other Badaga sibs are welcome to take part in the worship if they choose.

614 (619) Despite this demonstration of Adikari solidarity, there have been several defections from the sib and its Lingayat values. There is one hamlet where Adikaris intermarried with Toreyas quite a few generations ago; and there they are always treated as Toreyas, although sometimes called Adikaris. In three other Gauda hamlets Adikaris have intermarried with meat-eating Gaudas. In both instances, these Adikaris are no longer vegetarians or Lingayats (Metz 1864: 50-51). In two hamlets there are vegetarian Adikaris who do not wear the lingam, but still retain the status of Adikaris. They are called Adikari, but are not considered to be

614 Lingayats (although since about 1960 some of them have taken to wearing the lingam again).

574 614 Adikaris, like Kapakkas, admit Haruvas, Kaggatis, and other Lingayats to the inner room for meals; (Wodeyas refuse to eat with them, however); Gaudas and Toreyas may only eat in the outer room, and members of the other tribes are not allowed past the entrance door. Adikaris and Kapakkas eat only at the houses of Haruvas and Wodeyas, where they can feel sure of receiving the correctly prepared vegetarian dishes.

614 The Kapakkas, although now agriculturists like all other Badagas, once held the monopoly over literacy in the Nilgiris (Grigg 1880: 221). Their name means "accountant", and is generally taken to indicate that some of their forefathers acted as village accountants when a ruler in the Coimbatore Plains, probably the East India Company, became powerful enough to demand the levy of taxes. Although the Kapakkas are Lingayats, and today have a status equal with that of the Adikaris, there are many Badagas who will whisper darkly that originally the Kapakkas were not Kanarese at all, but Tamilians. The Kapakkas themselves would not own to 115 167 614 this, since experience with the Madras Government officials has led nearly all Badagas to despise the Tamilian but to be more charitably inclined toward the Mysorean; still, it may well be true that the Kapakkas were Gaundans, an agricultural caste from the Coimbatore Plain, who were brought to the Nilgiris because (127) they knew how to write (Grigg 1880: 221). My discovery of some 500 palm-leaf manuscripts hidden in two Kapakka hamlets lends support to this belief. These leaves were written two to four centuries ago in a script and language close to modern Tamil. Some of the texts are devotional in character, but many are the 614 718 exercises of tyro scribes. The leaves are now treasured as the sacred writings

614 of ancestral Kaṇakkas and are worshipped but never read. No ancient manuscripts
778 were discovered in Kannada, it should be noted.

582 Kaṇakkas intermarry with Adikaris, Haruvas and Kaggusis, and during
614 this century some have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. A few cases of Kaṇakkas marrying Wodeyas have also been cited above (p. 54).

As Kaṇakkas and Adikaris marry much more frequently with each other than with any other sib, and as they are both Lingayat groups, they are normally accorded equal status by all Badaga phratries. The regulations for Kaṇakka commensality are precisely the same as those described above for the Adikaris.

614 Among the smallest sibs is the one called Kaggusi. Their numbers must
[162] total slightly under a thousand. These people are vegetarians who inhabit only four hamlets. They wear neither the sacred thread nor the lingam. The sib, like all
582 others, is exogamous: they intermarry mainly with Kaṇakkas, but also with Haruvas
614 and Gaudas. It is interesting to note that the Adikaris will not marry Kaggusis on the grounds that, because Kaṇakkas do marry them, they must be fictive brothers to the Adikaris; yet no such argument stops an Adikari from marrying a Haruva. Perhaps Haruva/Kaggusi marriages are too infrequent to be remembered by the Adikaris.

615 Some 90% of the total population of Badagas are Gaudas; for which reason
[162] this phratry is commonly called Badaga. A rough estimate puts their population at
[121] around 80,000 people. It is preferable to use the correct but not widely recorded term Gauda, since it obviates the confusion that can arise in calling a single phratry and also the entire community by the same name. The word Gauda also gives an important clue to their history and the origin of the Badaga political system; for

615 political divisions of the Nilgiris are relevant in the arrangement of marriages.
Gaudas observe a rule that sib exogamy is essential only in marriages arranged
582 between two hamlets within the same division. If a marriage is arranged with a
614 hamlet in any of the other three divisions, and there is no known precedent of a
615 marriage with that hamlet, then it is usually treated as being a member of the
631 opposite sib, even though it would be possible to argue that it belongs to the same sib, were the villagers to trace out a network of various other marriage connections that indirectly linked the two hamlets. In one's own division, if two hamlets A and B have both had marriages with hamlet C, then A and B necessarily belong to the same sib. But if hamlets A and B are located in different political divisions, then the fact that at some time they have both married people from hamlet C (which might be anywhere in the three other divisions of the Nilgiris) is deemed irrelevant. In fact, where a history of marriage with C could be demonstrated for both A and B, the villagers would usually rationalize the knowledge by saying: "After all, the connection is too distant to matter; we are not marrying our own blood."
614 In effect, they are giving up the ideal of sib exogamy in such a situation for the more
615 meaningful ideal of lineage exogamy, because the sibs have become so large that they can no longer be regarded by Badagas as corporate social groups. This adjustment in thinking is very necessary, because the detailed knowledge Badagas carry of their kinship field -- which often contains 300 or more people -- coupled with the tremendous accumulation of relatives that comes from numerous births and frequent remarriages, could otherwise make the ideal of sib exogamy an altogether insurmountable problem.

There is a second way of manipulating the problem. Various peripheral Gauda hamlets are in a sense of "neutral" sib affiliation, it seems: that is, they

614 are each exogamous, but may arrange marriages with members of either sib without being accused of marriage within a prohibited degree, simply because they are too small and isolated for many other hamlets to know anything about them. They thus constitute a kind of "structural safety-valve", for the precedent of a marriage with one of these hamlets can be used to validate an argument about any other hamlet's membership of either sib. This is possible because both Gauda sibs are unnamed, and are identified only by reciprocal terms meaning "brothers" (i.e. "our sib") and "in-laws" (i.e. "their sib"). These various peripheral hamlets also act as a kind of reservoir of boys and girls eligible for marriage with any hamlet in need of spouses.

582 615 While it is true that the vast majority of Gauda marriages are with members of the opposite sib, there have also been a number of permissible marriages arranged with members of other phratries. Both Haruvas and Kaggusis marry into either Gauda sib. A few Bedas may also have married into either Gauda sib. In three hamlets non-vegetarian Adikaris have intermarried with Gaudas, and are now treated as Gaudas. A very recent development has been the marriage of a few Badaga Christian girls to Gauda boys, normally those with a college education. Christian girls enjoy a certain reputation among Badagas for their comparatively high level of education and their "freer" interaction with men. Where a Christian girl marries a Gauda her patrilineal ancestry must still trace back to the opposite sib from her groom's.

574 615 Gaudas are willing to eat in the houses of any other Badaga phratry, except for Toreyas and Badaga Christians. Adikaris, Kapakkas and Wodeyas only offer Gaudas food in the outer room; whereas Haruvas and Kaggusis allow them to eat in the inner room. In each of these cases the Gaudas may be meat-eaters, but

574 615 they will only be offered vegetarian food in the inner room. Usually it is only between two families related through a marriage that this latter situation might arise. Generally the vegetarians do not eat in non-vegetarian homes. Toreyas may be given food in the outer room of a Gauda house, but meat-eating Adikaris will eat in the inner room.

162 615 Few Badagas know of the existence of a Badaga phratry called Kumbara, so small are its numbers. The Kumbaras live in two nearby hamlets on the northern edge of the Nilgiris (Metz 1864: 60), and total only 50 households -- about 300 people. The two hamlets are two exogamous sibs, and where possible intermarry. •614 615 One of these hamlets, however, contains only ten families; so that the other hamlet [582] has to look elsewhere for most of its spouses. They do not intermarry with any other Badagas, but do arrange marriages with any of the several thousand families 615 of Kanarese Kumbaras who live in and around Mysore City. Although these latter are not Badagas the Kumbaras of the Nilgiris believe that the two groups have common ancestry. Those living in the Nilgiris nevertheless class themselves as Badagas, are recognized as such by their neighbors, and carry a distinctively Badaga culture almost identical with that of the Gaudas. Many Badagas who know of their existence believe that the Kumbaras actually are Gaudas.

172 615 Within a half-mile of one of the hamlets is a deserted fortification, said to have been constructed several centuries ago by the Raja of Ummattur, a town of southern Mysore (Francis 1908: 350). Badaga folksongs indicate that the Kumbaras came into the hills in this Raja's retinue. The traditional occupation of their caste is ceramics, and although they no longer know how to make pots there are any number of broken sherds stratified at a depth of 2-3 meters in the ramparts of the old 186 615 fortification to testify to their former industry on this spot. On the basis of this

615 186 presumed connection with royalty the Kumbaras claim to be the highest of all Badaga phratries; but all other Badagas (who know of them) rank them above Toreyas and below Gaudas. Some Kumbaras are vegetarian, but most are not.

615 (162) The Bedas are another Badaga phratry living in the same locality as the Kumbaras, and also numbering about 50 families divided between two exogamous sibs. They inhabit only two hamlets, both near the old fortification of the Raja of Ummattūr, and members of both sibs live in each hamlet (Metz 1864: 47-48; Francis 1908: 350, 370). The Bedas do not marry any other Badagas although, like the Kumbaras, they undeniably are considered Badagas: either they marry into the other Beda sib, or they arrange marriages with Kanarese Bedas -- who are not Badagas -- living in Mysore City or in Tiruppattūr town (Salem District). (582) (614)

The Bedas believe that they came to the Nilgiris as hunters in the service of the afore-mentioned Raja of Ummattūr: the word bēda means "hunter" (Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 382). Today they are only farmers; but until about 1950 they still supplemented their diet by hunting on the jungle slopes with the bow and arrow. They are normally meat-eaters, and -- partly because they are traditionally takers of life -- are ranked by the other Badagas as lower than Kumbaras but above Toreyas. It is interesting to note that both the Bedas and the Kumbaras, like all other non-Lingayat phratries, have their own "village Toreyas" who act as messengers for the headmen. Most Badagas know so little about the Bedas that they regard them as a community now absorbed into the Gaudas, which is in fact not the case at all.

The Toreyas are universally regarded as the lowest of the Badaga phratries; and although there are some meat-eating Adikaris who have been absorbed into their

615 number by intermarriage in one hamlet, they are now the only totally endogamous Badaga phratry. Their name suggests that they originated in an eponymous Kanarese community: "The Toreyas are a Canarese class, living chiefly in the Tamil districts of Coimbatore and Salem. They are said to have been originally fishermen and palanquin bearers, and the name is derived from turai, a river ghāt. Most of them are now cultivators..." (Thurston 1909: VII, 176) The Badaga Toreyas are, like all other phratries, primarily cultivators. They do in addition hold a traditional role of messengers and "village servants" — even in Beda hamlets — whence their low status (Thurston 1909: I, 73-74). It seems likely that they used to be palanquin-bearers on the tortuous Nilgiri slopes until about 1830, when the roads were becoming suitable for cart traffic. Certain Toreyas are still appointed to run errands for the headmen, and to perform specific duties at festivals and some public ceremonies, particularly funerals. It is recorded that in the early part of the 19th Century they were also "weaving a kind of sackcloth" (Harkness 1832: 109); but today neither the Toreyas nor anyone else can recall anything of this craft.

615 692 The Toreyas are under a disadvantage at the hands of the Badaga judicial system; for in any hamlet or "village" where the Toreyas do not live apart from all other phratries they find that, while they are permitted to bring cases to the council and to sit at the meeting, they must not take part in the discussion which leads up to the headman's decision.

162 614 615 There are 26 Toreya hamlets in the entire Nilgiris, most of them being adjuncts to Gauda hamlets. A census of the Toreya settlements reveals an extraordinary disproportion in the sizes of the two exogamous sibs. 5½ hamlets are inhabited by one sib, and 20½ by the other. In approximate figures this means that 125 households belong to one sib, while 750 belong to the other. This situation is necessarily a temporary one, and can have persisted for only two or three

614 615

614 generations, although the Toreyas themselves are hazy about its causes. Provided
615 the two sibs really are exogamous and each only marries with the other, their num-
(169) bers should become roughly equal by the end of this century. Apparently one of the frequent epidemics which plague this area ravaged one of the sibs early in the present century while leaving the hamlets of the other relatively unscathed. The latter sib now includes large numbers of unmarried men and women.

615 How are the Toreyas handling this challenge? Strangely enough, in view of the well-known precedents set them by other Badaga phratries, the Toreyas have not resorted to the expedient of marrying outside their phratry, either to other Badagas or to Kanarese peasants. The only explanation for this behavior seems to be that they are poorer and less well educated than any other Badaga phratry, and they feel that marriage beyond the bounds of their own phratry would -- far from relieving their tensions -- threaten their very identity as a group.

595 615 The main solution they have attempted, and with considerable success, is polygyny. This is a permissible form of marriage among all Badagas, although it is rarely practiced today. Those Toreya men of the smaller sib who can afford it nevertheless quite often take a second wife. Polyandry, on the other hand, is no longer a permissible form of Badaga marriage; although it was apparently common until the end of the last century (Natesa Sastri 1892: 754). Even so, I believe that 595 614 615 cases of <u>de facto</u> fraternal polyandry occur among men of the larger Toreya sib and contribute to a solution of the present problem. It can also be assumed that many of the unmarried women of the larger sib still succeed in becoming mothers. A Toreya girl is quite commonly the object of a Gauda boy's attentions; but although children may result from such a casual union, marriage never does.

574 615 Toreyas can be offered vegetarian food in the houses of all other phratries

family even though it is not one: this represents a change from the 19th Century situation. Unlike the members of other phratries, however, a wealthy Toreya will only receive the respect due to a member of the gentry from the other members of his own phratry. To anyone else he is primarily a Toreya rather than a prestigeful man.

In the arrangement of marriages, although it is obligatory (as we have seen) to take brides from other sibs and is sometimes acceptable to take them from other phratries, it is not common or desirable to take brides from across the division between gentry and non-gentry. A Kaggusi man, for example, may take a Gauda bride, thereby crossing the limits of his phratry and of the vegetarian community; yet if he is of the gentry his bride should be so too.

The gentry are the only Badaga families who have any compunctions about the remarriage of widowers. No young woman of a gentry family would marry a man who had performed the crucial rice-sprinkling ceremony at the funeral of his previous wife. This is therefore an exception to the usual Badaga practice of allowing remarriage freely to both widowers and widows. If a widower of the gentry has done this ceremony he can only marry a <u>widow</u> of the gentry. With this in mind, if a widower wants another young wife as soon as his previous wife has died, his <u>brother</u> does the rice-sprinkling ceremony at her funeral instead (provided the parents of the brother's wife agree to it). This is supposed to be a public affirmation that it was really her husband's brother who had supported the dead woman; although everybody knows that this is a mere fiction. The parents of his wife must agree to the performance because they might not want their daughter married to a fictional widower, particularly if he too is treated as "gentry"; but they usually agree willingly because it is to the advantage of all concerned

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AM50 Badaga AM50

who fled from that situation and settled on the hills as Badagas (i.e., "northerners") came mainly from the agricultural Okkaliga caste in the Mysore Plain. What their social organization may have been there is obscure and irrelevant. It seems that the small groups of refugees, torn from their caste affiliations, were so fragmented that the basic social unit among them as settlers was the joint family, not the *jati* or caste. It is still the ideal residential unit.

Today we find no castes in Badaga society. These people live in a tribal milieu, surrounded by the indigenous Toda, Kota, Kurumba, and Iruļa tribes, and they have become fairly tribe-like themselves. The community is divided into ten phratries which are mainly endogamous. Two of these are vegetarian; all are primarily agricultural. Each phratry is made up of a number of exogamous clans, anything from two to sixteen of them, and these clans are in turn segmented into quite a few exogamous lineages. As with the famed Nigerian case of the Tallensi, there are actually lineages within lineages, so that we may need to speak about maximal (*kuḍumbu*), major (*kutti*), minor (*kutti*), and minimal (*guppu*) lineages, even though not every clan currently has all four levels of lineage. Segments of the minimal lineages are in fact extended families, counting back for about five generations, and with most of their members still alive.

These larger social units have a complicated history and organization (detailed in Hockings 1980), and they will not be considered further in this present study. It is nonetheless relevant to mention how they fit into the residence pattern. The Badagas live in about 370 exclusively Badaga villages which are normally exogamous. Marriage is virilocal. Each village is thus the home of one or more patrilineages all belonging to one clan (and hence, one phratry). But with few exceptions a clan is not confined to a single village.

One particular village, Tu:ne:ri, was the first place to be settled, in the late 16th century, as a result of which its headman became the paramount chief. This position, like all Badaga headmanships, has descended patrilineally within the family. Every other village has its own headman, descended from the founder, and clusters of neighbouring villages form a commune around one particular village whose headman is also acknowledged to be the commune headman. Furthermore, the whole of the plateau area has been divided into four quarters, and one man is recognized as the regional headman in each quarter. At every one of the four levels of headmanship there is also a council, made up of inferior headmen (except in the case of the village-council, which consists of lineage elders who work with the traditional village headman).

The society is relatively homogeneous in the sense that, although the ten phratries are ranked into a widely accepted hierarchy, all families were traditionally subsistence farmers of millet and all lived by essentially the same kinship rules. We will therefore be able to explore the meaning of these rules without constant reference to exceptions and alternatives found only in certain sectors of the society.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

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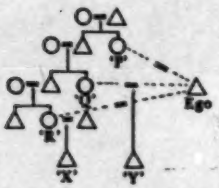

Diagram 13

Even though 'Q' (who is married to 'R') is, in Diagram 14, in a classificatory "mother" relationship to 'R', Ego can still marry 'X'. The FM of 'X' is not of Ego's lineage. Assuming that the FFZSW is no longer of Ego's lineage and is not related through any members of Ego's lineage in such a way as to preclude the marriage, then this union is permissible. It should be pointed out that there is more than one way to "skin a cat" and in any of these marriages the relationship between the two potential spouses can be figured in such a way as to allow the marriage. If in fact Ego *were* related to 'X' so as to prohibit the marriage with her, but if this relationship were distant enough, it might simply be overlooked provided no one protested.

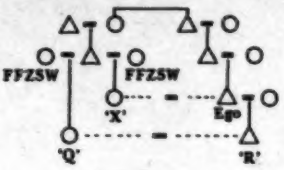

Diagram 14

9. The Family: Some Conclusions

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In the larger phratries the Badagas have a generalized system of marital exchange, a preferential pattern of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Such a system allows some of the clans to differ in status from others. In the smaller phratries consisting of no more than two clans, however, restricted exchange occurs, still with the bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

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Because of their theory of patriliny, namely that every infant is formed solely from the semen of its father, the two prime cross-cousins who constitute potential spouses are in an equivalent relationship for Ego. From a Badaga male's point of view, these possibilities are MBD and FZHD—in other words, the daughter of a bride-taker (or bride-giver) who belongs to another